

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NORTH CAROLINA AREA

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

MARCH 12, 13, and 14, 1956

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Public Law 601, 79th Congress

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress (1946), chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * *

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.(A) Un-American Activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investi-

gation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

- 1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:
 - (q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NORTH CAROLINA AREA

MONDAY, MARCH 12, 1956

United States House of Representatives,
Subcommittee of the
Committee on Un-American Activities,
Charlotte, N. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met at 10 a.m., pursuant to notice, in the Federal Court House, Charlotte, N. C., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania, Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, and Bernard W. Kear-

ney, of New York.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, acting counsel, and W.

Jackson Jones, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

For many years now, the Committee on Un-American Activities has been investigating the activities of the Communist Party throughout the United States. During this period, we have held hearings in Chicago, Ill.; Detroit, Mich.; New York City, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, Pa.; Seattle, Wash.; San Francisco and Los Angeles, Calif., and Washington, D. C. At these hearings evidence was obtained which shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that this international Communist conspiracy is attempting to enslave all the free peoples of the world. Even though the vast majority of our citizens are vehemently anti-Communist in their every thought and action, this does not deter the Communist Party from continually attempting to infiltrate and dominate organizations and groups in every section of our country.

During these hearings, the committee will take testimony relating to the activities of the Communist Party in this area. It is not our desire to embarrass or subject anyone to unnecessary criticism. However, as a committee of Congress authorized to investigate the dissemination of un-American propaganda in the United States, we are required to interrogate all persons believed by the committee to possess

information of value on this subject.

We seek and must obtain the full cooperation of all if this threat

to our lives and property is to be effectively eliminated.

I want to take this opportunity to express my thanks, as well as those of the committee, to Judge Wilson Warlick for allowing us the use of his courtroom for these hearings. Our thanks go also to the law-enforcement agencies and private individuals who have so will-

ingly cooperated with the staff of the committee in its preliminary investigation.

I should like to also state that smoking during the hearing is not

allowed.

Will you call your first witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Årens. If you please, Mr. Chairman, the first witness will be Charles Benson Childs. Will you please come forward. Remain

standing, if you will, and raise your right hand to be sworn.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help vou God?

Mr. Childs. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES BENSON CHILDS

Mr. Arens. Kindly identify yourself, by name, residence, and

occupation.

Mr. Childs. My name is Charles Benson Childs. I live at 108 Joiner, in Chapel Hill. I am a student and lab instructor at the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Childs, have you ever been a member of the

Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Kindly tell the committee the circumstances which

precipitated your membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. My association with the Communist Party began approximately before I became a member and gradually led into membership in the latter part of 1948. While I was in high school, a senior, I had an English instructor who had had some experience in the Gastonia strike in 1929. She often told us about the Communist Party and the way it operated in Gastonia during that strike.

I became interested in it, and later I met Mike Ross, who was a union organizer in High Point at that time, and in discussions with Ross, he seemed to follow certain things, and also through him I met many other people and I was gradually led into the Communist Party.

Mr. Arens. During the course of your career in the Communist Party, did you consistently report information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Was your membership in the Communist Party, concerning which we shall have considerable questions today, with the knowledge and consent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.
Mr. Arens. In other words, were you during the career which you pursued in the Communist Party, an undercover agent or informer for the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir. Mr. Arens. If you will, please, Mr. Childs, pick us up there when

you began your activities in the Progressive Party in 1948.

Mr. Childs. After I began associating with the Progressive Party through Mike Ross, I became acquainted with Bill Robertson, who at that time was living in Chapel Hill.

Mr. Arens. Could you give us a further identification of Bill Rob-

ertson?

Mr. Childs. Bill Robertson, I understand, at that time was in Chapel Hill, a student at the university.

Mr. Arens. Is that the University of North Carolina?

Mr. Childs. Yes. sir. Robertson led me on with certain things

throughout this period 1948 and 1949.

Mr. Arens. Into what did he lead you? Give us a chronology of the activities which you followed in the Communist Party or in Communist fronts.

Mr. Childs. This included such things as the Stockholm peace peti-

tion, the Daniels Defense Committee, the Labor Youth League.

Mr. Arens. Could you pause a moment there? Tell us what you did, and when you did it with reference to the Stockholm peace petition, a popular designation for the World Peace Appeal?

Mr. Childs. I recall on the Stockholm peace petition I hit with it in

Winston-Salem.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is important to go into detail in this, Mr. Arens, because of the large number of well-meaning people who were misled by the word "peace." This is a favorite device of the hard-boiled Communist conspirators, and I think it is important to do so.

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir. Would you kindly tell us in detail the activities engaged in in this area on the Stockholm peace petition and

the persons who were behind it.

Mr. Childs. As far as the overall State activities on the Stockholm peace petitions, I can remember specifically the ones in which I was involved in Winston-Salem, and persons who did support it in Winston-

Mr. Arens. Would you tell us who was behind it in Winston-Salem

where you were involved?

Mr. Childs. I recall among those people who supported it was Bill

Robertson. He helped to get the petition at that time.

Mr. Arens. Did you subsequently learn that Bill Robertson was a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Proceed, if you please, sir.

Mr. Childs. I recall that in general—I can't be specific about the names of the individuals—many people who at that time were associated with the Stockholm peace petition I later learned were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. Arens. Could you give us more names at this time, or would you prefer to wait until we get into other activities before you identify

them?

Mr. Childs. I think I would prefer to wait.

Mr. Arens. Will you tell us about your activities in the Labor Youth League? First of all, when did you identify yourself with the Labor

Youth League?

Mr. Chiids. I became a member of the Labor Youth League at the invitation of Bill Robertson. That was in the early part of 1950. This was in Greensboro. The way I actually went to Greensboro from High Point is that Robertson called me from Greensboro and told me he wanted me to come to Greensboro, and I would be met at the bus station by a person whom I would recognize.

Mr. Arens. Did that happen?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Who met you?

Mr. Childs. Hans Freistadt.

Mr. Arens. Would you spell the last name, please?

Mr. Childs. F-r-e-i-s-t-a-d-t.

Mr. Arens. What transpired after you met at the bus station?

Mr. Childs. From the bus station Freistadt and I went to an automobile, and there we met Emanuel Coutlakis.

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly spell his name?

Mr. Childs. C-o-u-t-l-a-k-i-s.

Mr. Arens. What transpired there?
Mr. Childs. Then we went to a student's apartment or room near the campus of A. and T. College.

Mr. Arens. What was that student's name?

Mr. Childs. I recall the name of Richard Jenkins.

Mr. Arens. Tell us what happened then.

Mr. Childs. At that meeting there were several students from A. and T. College.

Mr. Arens. Would you please identify that college?

Mr. Childs. That is the Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro. We held a Labor Youth League meeting there, laying the foundation for the Labor Youth League.

Mr. Arens. How many people were in the Labor Youth League when you were identified with it in 1950?

Mr. Childs. At that time I recall there were approximately eight people at that meeting in Greensboro.

Mr. Arens. Could you give us their names?

Mr. Childs. I can recall several of them, but not all. There was myself, Hans Freistadt, Emanuel Coutlakis, and I recall the name of Brooks.

Mr. Arens. What was the first name of Brooks, do you recall?

Mr. Childs. No, sir. And two students from A. and T. They were coeds at A. and T.

Mr. Arens. Do you recall their names?

Mr. Childs. I recall the first name of one was Margaret. I believe her name was Margaret. I can't identify them any further.

Mr. Arens. May I ask whether you ever had a Communist Party name which was separate and distinct from your own true name?

Mr. Childs. I used one at the party school. Mr. Arens. What was that name, please?

Mr. Chilos. Phil.

Mr. Arens. P-h-i-l?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us something of the activities of the Labor Youth League in this community when you were identified with it?

Mr. Childs. Right after that first meeting with the Labor Youth League, they continued meetings in Greensboro, Winston-Salem, High Point, and Durham. They circulated certain pamphlets and circulars which the Labor Youth League would print, and held regular meetings and a national convention in New York.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest at this point the record of this hearing reflect that the Labor Youth League has

been cited as a Communist front which—

has taken the place of the two prior organizations, Young Communist League and American Youth for Democracy, as the organization for young Communists.

It was cited on August 30, 1950, by the then Attorney General of the United States.

It was also cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activ-

another spearhead of the peace campaign among American youth which is under Communist control.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is important to add at this point that no attempt was ever made by this organization to refute findings made by this committee or by the Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. Arens. On the basis of your background and experience in the Labor Youth League, have you reached a conclusion whether or not that organization was, during your experience in it, controlled by the

Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Childs. When I first became a member it was explained to me by Freistadt and others that the Labor Youth League was the youth arm of the Communist Party, and had replaced the Young Communist

Mr. Arens. During your experience in the Labor Youth League, did you have occasion to engage in any activities with a person by

the name of Maud Russell?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly explain first of all who Maud Russell

is, and secondly, what your activities were with her?

Mr. Childs. Maud Russell was the executive chairman of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. At that time she had it was in the spring of 1950—come to the State to make several The general theme of her speech was that the United States Government should recognize Communist China, and at the same time establish trade relations with China.

Mr. Arens. What were your activities and associations with her? Mr. Childs. I was given the assignment of going with her around

the State to meet certain people.

Mr. Arens. Could you tell us where you went with Maud Russell so she could make these speeches with respect to recognition of Red China?

Mr. Childs. She made speeches at classrooms of A. and T. College.

Mr. Arens. Under whose auspices were the speeches given at A. and T. College?

Mr. Childs. At A. and T. College, I recall that some members of

the Labor Youth League made these arrangements.

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. How many were in attendance?

Mr. Childs. I recall this speech was made in a classroom.

Mr. Arens. How many were in attendance in the classroom where Maud Russell made her speech? Please give us your best estimate as to the number of students present.

Mr. Childs. It was approximately 20 or 30.

Mr. Arens. Were any faculty members present? Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you recall under whose auspices the speech was given? Was it under the auspices of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, or under the auspices of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. Childs. I do not recall exactly who sponsored her speech at that school. I do recall we had lunch at the YWCA at A. and T.

College.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, may I respectfully state for the record that the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy with which Maud Russell was identified, was cited as "Communist" by the then Attorney General on April 27, 1949.

In 1948, the California Committee on Un-American Activities likewise cited the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy as a

"new front" in the field for the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the organization urging the recognition of

Red China?

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir. As the witness has just said, that was the

theme of her speech.

Would you kindly proceed to give us the rest of the itinerary of Maud Russell? She spoke at this one school, you said, to about 30 students.

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. On the theme of diplomatic recognition of Red China. Would you tell us where else she spoke ?

Mr. Childs. I recall we went to Greensboro.

Mr. Arens. Where did she speak there?

Mr. Childs. Excuse me. Winston-Salem. She spoke at A. and T. in Greensboro, and also at some place in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. Could you tell us where she spoke at Winston-Salem?

Mr. Childs. I don't recall exactly where that speech took place, but I do recall that we did go to Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. Was it a student gathering?

Mr. Childs. I don't recall now.

Mr. Arens. Is there any other place where she spoke?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir. We went to Durham and paid a few calls there, and then we went to Chapel Hill.

Mr. Arens. Where did she speak there?
Mr. Childs. At Chapel Hill she spoke at Graham Memorial, which is a student center.

Mr. Arens. How many students were in attendance?

Mr. Childs. Approximately 20.

Mr. Arens. Under whose auspices did she speak?

Mr. Childs. Young Progressives.
Mr. Arens. Were you identified with the Young Progressives of America?

Mr. Childs. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. Were the Young Progressives identified with the Pro-

gressive Party?

Mr. Childs. I recall there was some relationship between the Progressive Party and the Young Progressives. Exactly what I don't know.

Mr. Arens. Was the theme of Maud Russell's address at each of these meetings substantially the same, namely, the urgency or desirability from her viewpoint of recognizing Red China?

Mr. Childs. In the recognition and establishment of trade relations her general theme was from the standpoint of how it would benefit the

United States.

Mr. Arens. Would you continue with your career in the Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. I continued associating with numerous individuals and I was invited to join the party later.
Mr. Arens. Who invited you to join the Communist Party?
Mr. Childs. I was invited to join by Hank Farash.

Mr. Arens. How do you spell his name? Mr. Childs. F-a-r-a-s-h, or -i-s-h.

Mr. Arens. Identify him, please.
Mr. Childs. He was the district organizer of the Communist Party for this district.

Mr. Arens. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. I joined in October 1950.

Mr. Arens. Where did you join?

Mr. Childs. I joined in High Point. Mr. Arens. Would you identify for this record all persons to your certain knowledge who were known by you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. Of those persons I knew in High Point to be members,

one was Virginia White.

Mr. Arens. Would you pause a moment to identify her, please?

Mr. Childs. When I joined the Communist Party, a new club was formed and she was one of the new members in this club.

Mr. Arens. How many were in your club or cell?

Mr. Childs. At this first club I was in there were three members.

Mr. Arens. Who was the other member, beside you and Virginia White?

Mr. Childs. There was one other one. Eugene Feldman. Mr. Arens. Would you spell his name?

Mr. Childs. F-el-d-m-a-n.

Mr. Arends. Could you further identify him, please?

Mr. Childs. It was explained to me that Feldman had been a southern representative for the Daily Worker in Alabama.

Mr. Arens. Is that the Communist publication?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. The Communist Daily Worker. Who was your superior in your cell in the Communist Party at High Point?

Mr. Childs. The chairman of that group was Eugene Feldman.

Mr. Arens. Do you know from whom did Eugene Feldman receive his instructions or orders!

Mr. Childs. No, sir. Mr. Arens. Would you tell us of the activities of the Communist

Party cell of which you were a member at High Point?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir. In this first cell I was in, I was given the assignment of continuing work in the Labor Youth League and Virginia White, I recall, was doing some work for a peace campaign.

Mr. Arens. Was that the Stockholm peace appeal?

Mr. Childs. I don't recall whether that was the specific one or not.

Mr. Arens. What was your specific assignment in the Labor Youth League?

Mr. Childs. Just to try to develop students into Labor Youth League members and further the program of the Labor Youth League.

Mr. Arens. What did you do pursuant to that direction?

Mr. Childs. I made no attempt to recruit.

Mr. Arens. Were you, during all of this period, reporting information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Could you tell us of the activities of other members of this Communist cell at High Point?

Mr. Childs. I recall that Feldman was associated with a church in

Greensboro at that time.

Mr. Arens. What church was that?

Mr. Childs. I do not recall the name of it.

Mr. Arens. Do you know what he did in the church?

Mr. Childs. Either at that time or later he had taught Sunday school.

Mr. Arens. Do you have information respecting any Communist

Party activities of Feldman?

Mr. Childs. I know that he was a member of this group, and that he did teach Sunday school. What might happen to be the directives of the party at that particular period he reported attempts to carry them out.

Mr. Arens. Do you have information respecting the activities of Feldman in the Sunday school or church at the behest of the Com-

munist conspiracy?

Mr. Childs. I recall that he had mentioned to us—I was also in another group with him—that he did seem to make attempts to interpret things and how it might be beneficial to the party's position.

Mr. Arens. Did he undertake to persuade any members of the church or the church organization to follow the Communist Party line in respect to legislation or in respect to any course of action that the party wanted consummated?

Mr. Childs. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. Arens. Would you proceed with your next experience or identification in the Communist Party? Where and when did you have another identification with the Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. I moved to Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. When?

Mr. Childs. April 1951. There I was put into a new club.

Mr. Arends. What caused your move to Winston-Salem from High Point?

Mr. Childs. At that time I was unemployed and Winston-Salem, I understood, was a good place to get a job because there seemed to be some strength in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. Were you identified in Winston-Salem with a Com-

munist cell?

Mr. Childs. I was a member of a club in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us the names of the other members of the Communist cell in Winston-Salem?

Mr. Childs. I was a member of several cells there.

Mr. Arens. Could we take them one by one so we are sure we don't miss one. Take them in chronological order. Give us the first one and the members, please.

Mr. Cuilds. This is the way I can recall at this time how these ran. I was at one time associated in groups with Eugene Feldman, Jerry

Pearson

Mr. Arens. P-e-a-r-s-o-n?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Could you further identify Jerry Pearson? I do not believe you identified him before.

Mr. Childs. Jerry Pearson for one club in which I was a member

was the contact with the city committee in this club.

Mr. Arens. By the city committee do you mean the city committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Was he active likewise in the Progressive Party? Mr. Childs. Yes, sir, he was active in the Progressive Party.

Mr. Arens. To your certain knowledge, did you know him as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.
Mr. Arens. Would you kindly give us another name?
Mr. Childs. Also at one time or another I had met with Warren Williams.

Mr. Arens. Did you meet in a closed Communist Party session with him? Was he identified to you as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Childs. He was identified to me as a member of the party.

Mr. Arens. Would you give his name again?

Mr. Снирs. Warren Williams.

Mr. Arens. How do you spell the last name?

Mr. Childs. W-i-l-l-i-a-m-s.

Mr. Arens. Give us as much identification on Warren Williams

as you can, please, sir.

Mr. Childs. I recall that Warren Williams was active in the party in Winston-Salem, and that on one occasion he was with Scales in a security check.

Mr. Arens. By Scales, you mean Junius Scales, who was convicted

in the Smith Act trial?

Mr. Childs. That is right. Mr. Arens. All right, sir.

Mr. Childs. He was with Junius Scales at one time when I was given a security check, or "cadre review," as we referred to it.

Mr. Arens. Is that a security check within the Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir. At one time I was told by Scales that if I could not get hold of him, I was to get hold of Warren Williams, if anything came up.

Mr. Arens. You have just identified Warren Williams?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.
Mr. Arens. Do you have the name of another person who was known by you to have been a member of the Communist conspiracy in Winston-Salem?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Who was it, please?

Mr. Сниљs. Odis Reavis.

Mr. Arens. Would you spell his last name?

Mr. Childs. R-e-a-v-i-s.

Mr. Arens. Will you further identify him?

Mr. Childs. He was a member of the Communist Party in one of my clubs?

Mr. Arens. In Winston-Salem?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir. Mr. Arens. To your knowledge, what did he do?

Mr. Childs. I recall he was from Detroit and also from High Point. Mr. Arens. I believe, Mr. Chairman, it should be stated at this point that the records of this committee show that Odis Reavis was identified under oath as a member of the Communist conspiracy.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Childs, a moment ago you mentioned the city committee of the Communist Party, which apparently had some supervision over the activities of the cell. Could you kindly give us as much information as you have respecting the personnel of the city committee, and its functions and activity?

Mr. Childs. I gathered from the way our club operated and the way that our representative for the city committee reported to us that in the organization of the Communist Party in Winston-Salem there was a central committee composed of several people—the exact

number I do not know.

Mr. Arens. Do you know the names of the people?

Mr. Childs. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you know the functions of the city committee?

Mr. Childs. As far as the function is concerned, the relationship which I gathered was that the city committee had jurisdiction over all clubs within the city, and was responsible for seeing that the clubs carried out the directives of the State organization.

Mr. Arens. These clubs were secret clubs, were they not?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Could you tell us a word about the security system in vogue in the Communist Party to protect the identity of the cells

within a given area?

Mr. Childs. The security arrangements for the club meetings were that generally we would make arrangements to pick up a person in an automobile at some set time at some place. Everybody would not be picked up at the same place, it would be different places in the city. No member in one club was to know the identity of members in another club or whether or not another club existed.

Mr. Arens. You did become cognizant, however, that there were other clubs in existence, even though you could not or did not learn

the identification of the personnel in the clubs?

Mr. Childs. I understood that there were other clubs in Winston-

Salem.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us, Mr. Childs, a word about the activities of the cells with which you have been identified in the Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. I recall that the activities of these groups included

the directions to——

(The chairman left the room.)

Mr. Childs. Follow the State's program if possible, which at that time was industrial concentration.

Mr. Arens. What do you mean by industrial concentration?

Mr. Childs. The party took the position that the industry in our State—the national party convention had taken the position that the party should adopt the program of industrial concentration.

Mr. Arens. You mean by that to concentrate the comrades within

heavy industry or designated industry?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir. They adopted the program of attempting to place people in key industries or shops in industry and take people out of education into industry.

Mr. Arens. Do you have in mind any particular plants within this State in which there was a concentrated effort to place comrades?

Mr. Childs. I recall that they were very interested in getting people working at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

Mr. Arens. Do you have any reason for that?

Mr. Childs. I recall that one of the primary reasons was the large number of workers there, and at one time they did have a union at

Mr. Arens. Did any concentrated effort develop with reference to

the Western Electric plant at Winston-Salem?

Mr. Childs. At that time, when I moved to Winston-Salem, I went to work for Western Electric. I recall in some discussions that it was brought out that although they were not having an industrial concentration program, or attempting to get members in the Western Electric plant, that they did consider it a vital plant to have people working there, primarily because of the union.

Mr. Arens. Was there or is there now produced at the Western

Electric plant any significant defense equipment?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you know what is produced there?

Mr. Childs. I recall radar and radar components are produced there.

Mr. Arens. Was that part of the reason why the Communist Party during your experience wanted to have a concentration of comrades at the Western Electric?

Mr. Childs. It was never told me specifically that that was one

of the reasons.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us something of the political activities of

the Communist Party during the course of your career in it?

Did they party undertake what we would call political subversion, to undertake to impress its line, either upon the Congress or upon the State governments?

Mr. Childs. I recall that there were several attempts, including the Rosenberg case, of trying to get people to send letters and cards to

Congressmen.

Mr. Arens. Do you have any information respecting the position of the Communist Party on the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act?

Mr. Childs. It is possible that was among some of the legislation. Mr. Arens. Do you have any information respecting directives of the Communist Party to its comrades to send letters under false names on political issues to editors of various newspapers?

Mr. Childs. I recall that persons did send letters to editors, and the letters were signed with assumed names, under their true names.

Mr. Arens. Do you have any information respecting activities of the Communist Party to try to defeat the Smith Act, anti-Communist legislation, or the Internal Security Act of 1950?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir. I recall that they were very disturbed about the Smith Act, particularly Smith Act trials.

Mr. Arens. What did the Communist Party do in regard to the

trials or in regard to the act itself?

Mr. Childs. They were always trying to portray the trials as related to some other subject or tried to get it off the real charges that those people were under.

Mr. Arens. What is the Daily Worker?

Mr. Childs. The Daily Worker is the daily newspaper which is published and supported by the Communist Party, from what I understood in the paper.

Mr. Arens. Is the Daily Worker also a telegraph agency from Communist Party headquarters to the comrades to tell the comrades

what to do and what line to take?

Mr. Childs. I would say that the Daily Worker reflected the

party's position at that particular period—the tactical position.

Mr. Arens. Does the Daily Worker likewise reflect the open Communist Party activities as distinguished from the undercover activities of the Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. I would say that it generally reflects the open activities.

Mr. Kearney. Mr. Arens, at this point I would like the witness to further identify the Rosenberg case activities, unless you intend to go into it.

Mr. Arens. I have that as the next item. (The chairman returned to the room.)

Mr. Arens. Mr. Childs, I have before you now a photostatic copy of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker for March 6, 1956. entitled, "Sobell Committee Organizer Finds New Spirit in South," which is related in an interview in the Communist Daily Worker with one Aaron, A-a-r-o-n, Schneider, S-c-h-n-e-i-d-e-r. He tells in this interview of a trip or series of trips which he made to the South, including a trip to Winston-Salem for the purpose of organizing certain activities, particularly with reference to Sobell.

I ask if you have any information on the basis of your background and experience respecting the Sobell committee, and its ac-

tivities within this area?

You know, of course, that Morton Sobell was convicted with the Rosenbergs and is now in the penitentiary serving a 30-year sentence?

Mr. Childs. I do not recall having any information about the Sobell

committee in my association with the party.

Mr. Arens. Do you recall the formation of committees in the Southland respecting the Rosenbergs and clemency for the Rosenbergs and that sort of activity by the Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. I recall that the party attempted to get as many people as possible to write both the Supreme Court and Members of Con-

gress to reprieve the death sentence of the Rosenbergs.

The Chairman. I think in that connection you might be interested in knowing that our investigation disclosed that the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case collected over a quarter of a million dollars, of which the children received only about \$1,200.

Mr. Kearney. Also, Mr. Chairman, it has been shown by investiga-

tion that there have been no taxes paid to the Government on that sum raised by the National Rosenberg committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. Arens. Now, Mr. Childs, I lay before you a photograph and ask you if you can identify that photograph. (See p. 3605.)

Mr. Childs. This appears to be the farmhouse of William Binkley,

where the party school was held in 1952.

Mr. Arens. Would you spell his name?

Mr. Childs. I am not certain about the spelling, B-i-n-k-l-y, or -e-y.

Mr. Arens. Where is this farmhouse located?

Mr. Childs. It was in Walnut Cove. Mr. Arens. Where is Walnut Cove? Mr. Childs. It is near Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us about the Communist Party school

you just mentioned?

Mr. Childs. This party school was held in August of 1952. I was invited to attend this school by Junius Scales. The arrangements for the school were made through the party and Scales in discussing the school—or among the things discussed—was that there was to be no mail to or from the school, and no telephone calls, and no one would be permitted to leave the school before it was over.

Mr. Arens. Was that school exclusively for persons who were re-

liably known to be Communists?

Mr. Childs. It was explained to me that the school was for the outstanding cadres of the party in Virginia and North Carolina.

Mr. Arens. When was this school held?

Mr. Childs. In the early part of August 1952.

Mr. Arens. What transpired at the school and who was in attendance?

Mr. Childs. First, about attendance, among those people I can recall William Binkley—excuse me. These people were either there throughout the school or at one time associated with the school, or came to the school and left earlier.

Mr. Arens. Were they known by you or identified to you as members of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Childs. It was explained to me that only party members

would be permitted to attend the school.

Mr. Arens. What precautions were taken for security purposes?

Mr. Childs. Among those, before the school and during the school, we were instructed that we were to use assumed names, and each person, I recall, with the possible exception of Scales, was given a name other than his true name which was to serve to prevent the possibility of finding the true identification.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us what transpired at this school?

Mr. Childs. The school had a daily schedule which generally consisted of an assignment in the mornings, and later you had a formation of three groups which had a group leader, and these groups then would break up and discuss the theoretical assignments which had been made. Usually there was a problem assigned. You could discuss the problem and come back.

Mr. Arens. Tell us the nature of the problem assigned and the subject matter discussed.

Mr. Childs. May I make one statement about the testimony relating to the school?

Mr. Arens. Surely.

Mr. Childs. At the trial in Greensboro of Junius Scales I had at my disposal there the notes which I had taken at the school. Without those notes, I would try to be rather general in order to keep the record straight, that the correct discussion is from the notes.

Mr. Arens. Just proceed at your own pace.

Mr. Childs. Among those problems which were assigned, I recall specifically the one where a worker in a plant would come up and ask a person, "We in the United States are fighting against Russian imperialism," and then that was generally one problem, and we would discuss how we would answer such a problem.

Mr. Arens. You mean, I take it, to pervert the ideological concept

against the United States and for Soviet Russia, is that correct?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir. Among the solutions or answers to that problem would be that it is really not the Soviet Union which is

imperialist, it is the United States.

Another problem was about the Communist Party and the Constitution. I recall something along the line when the problem was—well you Communists are against the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and you want to destroy those—and the Communist Party answer would generally be along the line, that it really was not out to destroy them and that it was really the capitalists who are out to destroy the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Mr. Arens. Were there any discussions or directives concerning the attitude of the Communist Party with respect to the House Un-American Activities Committee and other committees which are

attempting to investigate and expose communism?

Mr. Childs. I recall that they looked upon almost all of this type of committee as really being, to use their terminology, methods of suppression of the liberation movement in the United States.

Mr. Arens. What was the attitude of the Communist Party toward

the FBI?

Mr. Childs. They made several comments about the FBI. The attitude toward the FBI was that it was doing a far better job compared to its size and that it was the worst organization in the country for suppression of the Communist Party.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any occasion, in the course of your career in the Communist Party to have sessions with people who were about

to go into the Armed Forces?

Mr. Childs. I recall that a party was held in the early part of 1951 for two people who at that time had looked as if they were going into the Armed Forces.

Mr. Arens. Where was this party held?

Mr. Childs. At Chapel Hill.

Mr. Arens. Can you identify those present?

Mr. Childs. The people were Emanuel Coutlakis and myself.

Mr. Arens. You have already identified Coutlakis on this record.

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. What transpired at this party?

Mr. Childs. It was just generally a party. We were presented an autographed copy of William Z. Foster's book, I believe, something about the history of the Americas.

Mr. Arens. Were any instructions given to the comrade who did go into the Armed Forces with respect to his activities on behalf of the Communist Party?

Mr. Childs. I'do not know as far as Coutlakis' instructions were concerned from the party. I only know those which were given to me.

Mr. Arens. What were the instructions given to you?

Mr. Childs. Scales at one time had told me that he wanted, as soon as I got in on furlough, the possibility of my arranging to see him when I came in. I do not recall exactly at this time who the individual was, but I was also told to try to indoctrinate people in the Armed Forces.

Mr. Arens. Indoctrinate them with Communist Party ideology?

Mr. Childs. Yes.

Mr. Arens. We had a little diversion there for a few moments. Would you proceed to identify again for us the names of the people who were in attendance at this school, this Communist Party leadership training school held at the farm?

Mr. Childs. I will try to start all over on those. I recall William Binkley, his wife, and Nat Bond.

Mr. Arens. What was Binkley's wife's name? Mr. Childs. I think it was Eleanor.

Mr. Arens. Eleanor?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir, and Nat Bond. Mr. Arens. Is that Nathaniel Bond?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Could you further identify him, please, sir?

Mr. Childs. At that time or before that, he had been associated with the Daniels Defense Committee and the Progressive Party. Other people present were George Van Camp, Jerry Van Camp, Betty Tyree.

Mr. Arens. Will you identify the Van Camps for us?

Mr. Childs. George Van Camp at one time while I was in Winston-Salem was a member of one of the clubs I was a member of. Jerry Van Camp was in Chapel Hill.

Mr. Arens. What did he do there, do you know ℓ

Mr. Childs. I recall he was a student at Chapel Hill.

Mr. Arens. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. Childs. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. And the other individual?

Mr. Childs. Betty Tyree.
Mr. Arens. Would you spell that last name?

Mr. Childs. T-y-r-e-e.

Mr. Arens. Identify her, please.

Mr. Childs. She and Bill Robertson at one time went to a peace crusade in Washington, and she later married George Van Camp.

Mr. Childs. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you have another name for us?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir. There was a representative from the national committee to whom we referred as "Abe." I do not know his correct name, And there was the district organizer.

Mr. Arens. Excuse me a moment. Do you know where "Abe" came

from?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Where?

Mr. Childs. New York City, national committee.

Mr. Arens. Did he tell you with what division or unit of the na-

tional committee of the Communist Party he was identified?

Mr. Childs. I do not recall that; no, sir. The district organizer, we called Bob at the party school. I later identified him from photographs as being Bob Handman.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us a further description of Handman and

his activities or background?

Mr. Childs. He was the district organizer for the State of Virginia.

Mr. Arens. He came in from Virginia to this Communist Party leadership training school; is that correct?

Mr. Childs. That is my understanding.

Mr. Arens. Do you have another name for us?

Mr. Childs. There was Viola Brown who used the name Vera at the party school.

Mr. Arens. Could you give us a description of her, please?

Mr. Childs. Viola Brown lived in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. V-i-o-l-a B-r-o-w-n?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you know what her activity was in Winston-Salem? Mr. Childs. I recall she was associated with several organizations in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. What organizations?

Mr. Childs. I recall she was associated with the Food and Tobacco Workers Union.

Mr. Arens. Did she work among them in Communist Party activity?

Mr. Childs. I do not know how she worked as far as the party

Mr. Arens. Do you have another name for us?

Mr. Childs. There was some girl from Durham whose name I recall as "Blanche."

Mr. Arens. Could you give us a little further identification of "Blanche"?

Mr. Childs. I recall at some time or another she got in trouble in Durham over some petition. That is all I can identify her by.

Mr. Arens. Do you have another name for us, please, sir?

Mr. Childs. That is all I can recall at this time.

Mr. Arens. Do you have a recollection of a William McGirt?

Mr. Childs. At one time, right near the end of the school, William McGirt and Warren Williams came to the school.

Mr. Arens. Spell McGirt's name, please.

Mr. Childs. M-c-G-i-r-t.

Mr. Arens. Will you give us as full a description as possible of William McGirt?

Mr. Childs. Do you want in general what I understood his position in the Communist Party to be?

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir.

Mr. Childs. I understood that McGirt was a member of the Communist Party, and at one time I was told by Scales if I ever needed to see him that I was to contact McGirt and McGirt would get in contact with Scales and then we would meet.

Mr. Arens. Do you know where he was from?

Mr. Childs. No. sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. Childs. I recall at that time he was living in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. Does that complete the list of persons known by you to have been comrades of the Communist conspiracy at this leadership training school on the farm here in North Carolina?

Mr. Childs. That is all that I recall at this time. There is a possi-

bility of others.

Mr. Arens. During the course of your career in the Communist Party, did you know a person by the name of William Evans?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. What was the nature of your acquaintanceship with him.

Mr. Childs. After I returned to school—after I came to school at the University at Chapel Hill—my contact with the party was through Bill Evans.

Mr. Arens. What was the nature of your acquaintanceship with

 $\lim ?$

Mr. Childs. We had a limited contact as far as the party was concerned. My relationship with him in the party was that he was my contact with the party. I would pay him dues and attend some meetings.

Mr. Arens. Was he known by you to have been a member of the

Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. When did you last see him or have any contact with him?

Mr. Childs. That was the day before I took the stand in Greensoro.

Mr. Arens. In what year?

Mr. Childs. 1955.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us a further identification or description of William Evans?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir. At one time I recall he worked at the Ervin

Mills.
Mr. Arens. Where?

Mr. Childs. In Durham.

Mr. Arens. Are there any other persons whose names come to you who, were to your mind, and to a moral certainty, known by you to have been members of the Communist conspiracy during your career in the Community Party?

Mr. Childs. There is a possibility of other names.

Mr. Arens. Am I clear in my impression from your testimony that during your career in the Communist Party, the party had strict security measures whereby the members of one cell were isolated so far as feasible from the members of another cell throughout the State?

Mr. Childs. This isolation was so far as the other group knowing

that these other people were members of the party.

Mr. Arens. But you knew of the existence of other Communist cells throughout the State?

Mr. Childs. Yes.

Mr. Arens. And you came out from under cover in the Communist Party in April 1955, is that correct?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. About less than a year ago?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Childs, on the basis of your background and experience in the Communist Party, particularly in view of your obvious youth, do you have any observations to make today respecting the threat of the Communist Party, and the scope of its intense activity, and whether or not it is dangerous to the security of this Nation?

Mr. Childs. My personal opinion on that question is that I consider during this present period which we are entering that the Communist Party is a far greater threat than it has been in the past.

Mr. Arens. Do you have any observations to make with reference to the multiplication of force by the Communist Party, that is, the extent to which 1 or 2 members of the Communist conspiracy can multiply their effectiveness by operating through others?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Give us your best appraisal of that situation and illus-

trate it, if you can, sir.

Mr. Childs. One of the techniques which they have used is to get people or a person to join an organization and develop into a role of leadership in that organization, and at the same time influence the way the organization moves.

Mr. Arens. Has there been in your experience a policy of the Communist Party to get the comrades into a legitimate, non-Communist organization in order to attempt to pervert the objectives of the non-

Communist organization, or to use it?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us an illustration of that?

Mr. Childs. I recall at the party school that in discussing the Korean war in relationship to one of the weaknesses of the party at that time was that it was concentrating on getting members into veterans' organizations.

Mr. Arens. What veterans' organizations?

Mr. Childs. I recall that they were interested in all veterans' organizations.

Mr. Arens. Did they try to get the comrades into the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars?

Mr. Childs. I recall that they made attempts to get into general vet-

erans' organizations.

Mr. Kearney. Do you know whether the Communist Party was successful in the two organizations that counsel just enumerated?

Mr. Childs. No. sir.

Mr. Kearney. Did William Binkley teach a course in the leadership training school of the Communist Party which we were discussing?

Mr. Childs. I do not recall Binkley's teaching a course, but I do

recall that he gave one of the night speeches.

Mr. Kearney. Are there other observations you would care to make before this committee of the Congress respecting your experiences in the Communist Party or your appraisal of the threat which it poses today to this Nation?

Mr. Childs. I think that my previous statement on the threat is

about all I have to say.

Mr. Kearney. What is the ultimate aim of the Communist conspiracy in the United States?

Mr. Childs. To overthrow the United States Government.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, if you please, that will conclude the staff interrogation of the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, Mr. Willis?

Mr. Willis. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. Kearney. I have none, Mr. Chairman, but I think the witness should be complimented very highly for his frank and vountary ap-

pearance, and information given to this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to join with you, General. No one can foretell the extent of the value of your appearance here today. It might be equal to that of two divisions of infantry. Who knows? But you have made a considerable contribution to the security of this Re-

public. For that the American people are indebted to you.

It is difficult to do what you have done. I know the charges that are made-informer, stool pigeon, that sort of thing. Let me tell you something, young man. When anyone says that about you, you just be proud of the fact that that particular person described you in that fashion, because that person's friendship is something that no decent person would want.

In excusing you, I repeat we are deeply indebted to you.

At this point the committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(Present at the taking of the recess were Representatives Walter,

Willis, and Kearney.)

Mr. Jones. Let the record show that Mr. Childs is being kept under subpena for the duration of the hearing.

(Brief recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

(Present following the recess were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearney.)

The Chairman. Call your next witness, please.

Mr. Arens. Mr. John V. Myers, please come forward. Kindly

remain standing and raise your right hand to be sworn.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Myers, I do so swear,

TESTIMONY OF JOHN V. MYERS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JAMES D. GILLILAND

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly have a seat? Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. Myers. My name is John V. Myers. I am unemployed since

receiving the subpena. My residence, Buies Creek.

Mr. Arens. Are you appearing today in response to a subpena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. Myers. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. Myers. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Will counsel kindly identify himself for the record? Mr. GILLILAND. James D. Gilliland, attorney, Warrenton, N. C.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Myers, please tell us where you were born and a word about your early life.

Mr. Myers. I was born in Sharpsburg, N. C., which is about 4

miles from Rocky Mount.

Mr. Arens. When was that?

Mr. Myers. 1916.

Mr. Arens. Will you please give us a brief résumé of your educa-

tional background?

Mr. Myers. I attended elementary school in Kentucky, Indiana, and Mooresville, N. C. I was graduated from Wake Forest College in 1938, summa cum laude, with a B. A. degree. I then taught French and did graduate work at Syracuse University for 2 years, receiving my M. A. degree in romance languages.

Mr. Arens. When did you receive your M. A. degree, please, sir?

Mr. Myers. In 1940.

Mr. Arens. Kindly continue if you have any further educational

Mr. Myers. I then received a teaching fellowship at the University of North Carolina, where I taught French until I was inducted into the Army in 1942. Upon return from the Army in 1946, I continued my graduate work and taught French and Spanish.

Mr. Arens. Where?

Mr. Myers. At the University of North Carolina.

In 1949 I refused to fill out questions concerning political beliefs and associations on a personnel sheet passed out to the members of the faculty, and appended to the application a statement concerning the principles that I stood for, refusing to fill out that portion. considered an incomplete application. I was subsequently not rehired. However, I continued on in graduate school until I went to the Sorbonne in Paris to study old French literature and dialects.

Mr. Arens. When was that, please, sir?

Mr. Myers. That was in 1950.

Mr. Kearney. May I ask a question? On your trip to the Sorbonne, did you study there under the GI bill of rights?

Mr. Myers. Yes, sir, I was studying under the GI bill of rights.

Mr. Arens. Will you continue, please, sir, on your career. We are up to 1950 and you are studying at the Sorbonne, France.

Mr. Myers. Yes, sir. I returned in 1952 and took a job at Campbell

College.

Mr. Arens. Can you identify Campbell College, please?

Mr. Myers. Campbell College is a Baptist sponsored junior college, also offering 2 years of high school work. Its aim is to give a Christian liberal arts education at a minimum cost-

Mr. Arens. Where is it located, please? Mr. Myers. To the youth, particularly of that area.

Mr. Arens. Where is it located, please? Mr. Myers. It is located at Buies Creek.

Mr. Arens. In what capacity were you engaged at Campbell College?

Mr. Myers. At Campbell College I taught French and Spanish.

Mr. Arens. How long were you employed at Campbell College? Mr. Myers. I was employed from the fall of 1952 until last Monday. Mr. Arens. Then what happened last Monday?

Mr. Myers. Last Monday it was announced that my connection

with the school was severed.

Mr. Arens. May we now revert to the series of activities in which you were engaged. Where did you serve in the Army in 1942?

Mr. Myers. In 1942, I served at Fort Jackson.

Mr. Arens. In what capacity?

Mr. Myers. I was in the hospital due to an arm injury.
Mr. Arens. Was that the extent of your activities in your career in the army?

Mr. Myers. Oh, no, sir. After recuperating I went to Camp

Wheeler for basic training.

Mr. Arens. Tell us where you went from there.

Mr. Myers. From there I was sent to Bermuda for 9 months for garrison duty. Then I returned to the States to various camps and went to the Pacific.

Mr. Arens. Would you mind pausing there a moment to tell us

in what branch of the Army you served?

Mr. Myers. I was in the 77th Infantry Division.

Mr. Arens. What post did you have within the 77th Infantry Division?

Mr. Myer. I was a private in the infantry.

Mr. Arens. Proceed, if you please, on your career.
Mr. Myers. In the Pacific I fought in the battles of Guam, Leyte, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa. I was wounded three times, received also the Bronze Star for action on Iwo Jima.

Mr. Arens. May we refer to this questionnaire in 1949 to which you alluded? What was the question that you would not answer on this questionnaire?

Mr. Myers. It was a personnel sheet.

Mr. Arens. That was when you were at the University of North Carolina, is that correct?

Mr. Myers. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Are you pausing now because you are looking for the questionnaire?

Mr. Myers. Yes, sir. This statement involves my political prin-

ciples and beliefs.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the statement?

Mr. Myers. I am going to decline to answer the question concerning

The Chairman. For what reason?

Mr. Myers. Because it involves my political beliefs.

The Chairman. For what reason do you decline to answer the question?

Mr. Myers. I base my declining to answer the question on the Constitution of the United States, the first amendment, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell me what that article of the Constitu-

tion has to do with the question you have been asked?

Mr. Myers. I also base my declining to answer the question on the fifth amendment, which states, "because the answer to this question

might tend to incriminate me."

Mr. Arens. I don't believe you understand the question that is pending now, or at least it is puzzling to me. What was the question that you would not answer on the questionnaire?

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Myers. I have already stated that the question concerned my political beliefs and associations, and I have already given the grounds.

The Chairman. That is not responsive to the question. It is the duty of the chairman to advise you that is not a responsive answer. Will you read the question to him, Mr. Arens?

Mr. Arens. Mr. Reporter, would you read the question, please?

(Question read by the reporter.)

Mr. Myers. Sir, since it was a matter of public record, I have decided to answer that question. I do not have an exact copy of the personnel sheet, but to the best of my recollection the questions on the personnel sheet were first of all relevant questions concerning scholastic background and so forth, and then there was a question requesting all faculty members to list all the organizations to which they have ever belonged, and the next question was—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. Is that the question that you

would not answer?

Mr. Myers. There were two questions. That is one of them.

The Chairman. You would not answer the question as to the organizations to which you belonged?

Mr. Myers That is right.

The Chairman. Is that because you were ashamed of some of the organizations?

Mr. Myers. That is correct. I have not completed my answer, Congressman Walter. I am answering your question in proper procedure.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to know the reason why you do not answer. Mr. Myers. The question was, Congressman Walter—will the re-

porter read the question back to Congressman Walter?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want him to read it. I know what it is. Did you decline to answer the question because you were ashamed to admit membership in certain organizations?

Mr. Myers. Congressman Walter, I am answering the question read to me by the reporter which was, "What were the questions that

you refused to answer?"

The CHAIRMAN. No. I am asking you another question. Mr. Myers. I have not completed answering the first.

The Chairman. Go ahead. Just make a speech and then we will ask you a question.

Mr. Myers. The first question was—

The Charman. We know the first one. We want to know the second one now.

Mr. Myers. The second one was, to the best of my recollection, this question: "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party or of any organization dominated or controlled to your knowledge by them? If so, please explain fully."

The Chairman. Now, I will ask you the same question. Are you

now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Myers. Would you please repeat the question?

The CHAIRMAN. Are you now or have you ever been a member of

the Communist Party?

Mr. Myers. Sir, I shall decline to answer that question for the following reasons: No. 1 is the 10th amendment, which retains for the States those powers not specifically granted to the Federal Government in the Constitution. The State determines the election procedure. The State has granted the citizens the right to a secret ballot.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me interrupt you at that point. Mr. Myers. If the Federal Government has the right-

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand that if the name of the Commu-

nist Party is on the ballot in North Carolina-

Mr. Myers. If the Federal Government has the right to force me to say if I am a Communist or not, the Federal Government also could assume the right to question me as to whether I am a Democrat or Republican.

The CHAIRMAN. We have that right. Nobody has ever questioned

it. Mr. Myers. This would undermine and weaken the value of secrecy of ballot, which we regard highly because it protects those who vote for minority parties from retaliation from those in the majority.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know what the law of North Carolina is, but I know before I can vote in Pennsylvania I have to go up to the polls and register, and I am very proud to register that I am a

Mr. Myers. I also stand on the first—

Mr. Arens. Just a moment, Mr. Witness. Do you contend that the Communist Party is a bonafide political party or is it a conspiracy?

Mr. Myers. Mr. Counsel, I have not yet completed giving the reasons

for declining to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. You have gone over the 10th amendment. Let us start another one.

Mr. Myers. Now I come to the first amendment—

that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof: or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

 ${f I}$ also stand on the fifth amendment because this answer might tend to incriminate me either way I might answer it, and the fifth amendment declares that a person shall not be required to testify against himself.

The Chairman. You have read only part of the fifth amendment. Why do you not go on and read the balance of it? A person shall not be required to testify against himself-go on from there-in any criminal proceeding. I think that is the language.

Mr. Myers. The fifth amendment states:

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself-

The Chairman. In a criminal case. This is not a criminal case.

Mr. Myers. You asked me to read the entire amendment. That is what I am going to do.

The CHAIRMAN. This is not a criminal case. I think you ought to be

reminded of that.

Mr. Myers. May I finish answering the question you asked me?

The CHAIRMAN. I know it very well. Just do not bother reading.

Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. Now, you said to the committee a moment ago that you didn't want to be placed in a position of revealing information respecting an identification with a political party. Tell this committee whether or not you honestly feel the Communist Party is a political party as distinguished from a criminal conspiracy.

Mr. Myers. I shall decline to answer that question basing my refusal on the fifth amendment, because the answer might tend to in-

criminate me.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you would tell this committee whether or not you have been a member of the Communist Party you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. Myers. I shall decline to answer that question because an answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be

ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. Myers. I shall, sir, decline to answer that question because either way I might answer it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. Arens. About the time you were served with your subpena did

you issue a statement to the press substantially as follows:

I wish to inform my friends and the people of this State that I shall reveal before this committee (namely, the House Un-American Activities Committee) neither my own political beliefs and associations nor those of anyone else.

Is that the essence of the statement you issued?

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Myers. May I ask the Chair for a ruling on a question I may ask?

The Chairman. No. You have counsel who has put words in your mouth on every question that has been asked you, so why ask me any questions?

Mr. Myers. A document has been introduced here. Will the coun-

sel read the entire document?

Mr. Arens. Did you in essence make that statement to the public press, that you will reveal before the House Un-American Activities Committee neither your political beliefs or associations nor those of anyone else?

Mr. Myers. Mr. Counsel, when I quoted the fifth amendment. Congressman Walter asked me to read the entire amendment and I did so.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully ask that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Charman. That answer is not responsive. We are not enjoying this.

Mr. GILLILAND. Will you let him finish this?

The Chairman. I know all about the fifth amendment. I have heard his kind of people invoke it hundreds of times.

Mr. GILLILAND. He may have something else.

The CHAIRMAN. The fifth amendment is the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question or place himself in contempt of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question of whether or not you made the statement Mr. Arens has just attributed to you.

Mr. Myers. May I ask that the reporter read the question? The Chairman. Let us ask a new question and save time.

Mr. Arens. Did you make a public statement to the effect that you would not reveal before this committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee, your political beliefs or your associations?

Mr. Myers. I shall decline to answer that question basing myself

on the first amendment which guarantees freedom of the press.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest that he be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. Myers. And the fifth amendment, because this question might

tend to incriminate me.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer that question because the freedom of the press is certainly not involved. The press merely published what you purportedly said to them. You are directed to answer the question.

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Myers. I made this statement believing that the Constitution is a living document, and not something to be embalmed under helium and glass.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever belonged to an organization which is dedicated to the forcible overthrow of this Government and the de-

struction of the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. Myers. I shall refuse to answer that question because either way I might answer—either way I could answer—might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. Kearney. If you had never belonged to an organization dedicated to the overthrow of this Government by force and violence, would you so answer this committee?

Mr. Myers. Will the reporter read back the question?

Mr. Kearney. I will withdraw it.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, in the presence of this witness I respectfully suggest that Mr. Ralph Clontz be requested to come forward and be given the oath to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Mr. Clontz, will you please come forward?

The Chairman. Raise your right hand. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and

nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CLONTZ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF RALPH C. CLONTZ, JR.

Mr. Arens. Please have a seat right there. Are you Ralph C. Clontz, Jr.?

Mr. Clontz. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Clontz. at the behest of and in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, did you join the Communist Party? Mr. Clontz. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. Arens. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. CLONTZ. I joined the Communist Party in January 1950 in Chapel Hill, N. C.

Mr. Arens. How long were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CLONTZ. Well, that requires a technical answer. The comrades have not really gotten around to kicking me out yet, although I feel since I testified in January 1954 I have been rather unwelcome in party circles.

Mr. Arens. During the course of your experience in the Communist Party, did you come to know a person as a Communist by the

name of John V. Myers?

Mr. CLONTZ. Yes, I did.

Mr. Arens. Do you see in the courtroom today the person who was known by you to have been a member of the Communist Party by the name of John V. Myers?

Mr. CLONTZ. Yes, I do.

Mr. Arens. Will you kindly look him in the eye and identify him—face him—before this committee as the person who was known by you as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. CLONTZ. That individual there is John V. Myers, known to me as a member of the Communist conspiracy in Chapel Hill. [Witness

standing and pointing.]

Mr. Arens. Mr. Myers, you have just heard the testimony of Mr. Ralph Cloutz under oath when he looked you in the eye and identified you as a person known to him to have been a member of the Communist conspiracy. Now, will you, while you are under oath, tell this committee whether Mr. Cloutz is lying or telling the truth.

Mr. Gilliand. May we first cross examine the witness who has

testified against Mr. Myers?

The CHAIRMAN. No. That is contrary to the committee rules.

Mr. Arens. Will you tell the committee, Mr. Myers, whether or not Mr. Clontz is lying or telling the truth?

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Myers. Sir, I shall decline to answer the question, because either way I answer it, the answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee whether or not Ralph Cloutz was telling the truth when he said he knew you as a member of the Communist conspiracy you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Myers. I shall decline to answer that question because either way I might answer it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be

ordered and directed to answer this last question.

The Charman. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. Myers. I shall decline to answer this question because any way I might answer it, it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest Mr. Clontz be

temporarily excused.

The Chairman. Will he be called again?

Mr. Arens. He probably will, Mr. Chairman.

(Witness temporarily excused.)

Mr. Arens. Mr. Myers, I lay before you a photostatic copy of a document entitled, "A Note on the Delegates" on which appears the names of persons identified in this document as delegates for the formation of a new political party. I ask you whether or not you can or will identify this document for the record.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

(Witness reads document.)

Mr. Myers. May I read this document to you?

Mr. Arens. It is agreeable with me. I have read it. The Chairman. What is the question, Mr. Arens?

Mr. Arens. He wants to know if he can read the document. It is a document which, as I have already identified, purports to list the names of people who were forming a new political entity here in North Carolina. It has among other names the name of John V. Myers.

Mr. Myers. Sir, I am going to decline to answer the question, and I shall base my refusal on the first amendment and on the fifth, be-

cause any answer might tend to incriminate me.

The Chairman. We might save a lot of time when you decline to answer questions by your merely stating, "I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated." Then it will be understood by that you mean the first, fifth and I think the tenth amendment which you invoked a while ago.

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Arens. Mr. Myers, on this document there appears the type-written name "John V. Myers, North Carolina." Do you happen to know that person or know how that name happened to appear on this document?

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Myers. I decline for the same reasons.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you would tell this committee whether or not this John V. Myers, whose name appears on this document, is yourself, that you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Myers. I decline for the same reason.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever denied affiliation with the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Myers. I decline for the same reasons.

Mr. Arens. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Myers. I decline for the same reason.

Mr. Arens. Do you propose after you are released from your oath before this committee and the pains and penalties of perjury, to step out in the hall and issue a press statement saying in effect, "Of course I am not a Communist, but I would not tell that witch-hunting committee I am not a Communist"? Do you propose to take that course of action as soon as you are released from your subpena and obligation to tell the truth under oath?

Mr. Myers. I decline to answer that question. I base it on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest that he be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. Myers. I have answered the question.

The Chairman. I want to tell you this; if you do make such a statement, I will, without the cloak of congressional immunity, stand out here and say you are a Communist, and you can have me arrested and sue me for damages.

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Myers. That was not a question. That was a speech. It is a statement of fact.

Mr. Kearney. Mr. Chairman, if he does make such a statement, I respectfully suggest he be brought back under another subpena.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The Chairman. Any questions, Mr. Willis!

Mr. Willis. No.

The Chairman. General Kearney!

Mr. Kearney. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were in the Λ rmy in the Pacific!

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Myers. I decline to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. Kearney. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Myers. I decline for the same reasons.

Mr. Kearney. That is all.

The Charman. No further questions. The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. Gilliand. Does that excuse him for good from the subpena? The Chairman. He is excused for good from the subpens and he can get his expenses by signing this voucher.

Mr. Ghliland. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Arens. If you please, sir, the next witness will be Nathaniel Bond, Mr. Bond, will you please come forward!

Mr. Boxo. May I make a request before the interrogation begins? Mr. Arens. Would you please remain standing and raise your right

hand to be sworn?

The Chairman. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help vou God!

Mr. Bond. I do.

TESTIMONY OF NATHANIEL BOND, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND

Mr. Arens. Have a seat in the witness chair. Please keep your voice up so we can hear you. The acoustics are not too good. Please identfy yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. Bond. My name is Nathaniel Bond, instructor of language at

Bluefield State College in Bluefield, W. Va. My home, however, is

Durham, N. C.

 ${
m Mr.}$ Arens. Are you appearing today in response to a subpena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens, Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. Bond. I wanted to make a request.

Mr. Arens. Are you represented by counsel? Mr. Bond. Yes, I am.

Mr. Arens. Will counsel kindly identify themselves?

Mr. Bond. I have not had sufficient time. I got my notice on Thursday. I have not had sufficient time for consultation with counsel.

 ${f Mr.~Arens}.$ Is the lady to your right your counsel?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Will you kindly identify yourself!
Miss Laks. Rhoda Laks, 615 Columbus Avenue, New York City.

Mr. GILLILAND. James D. Gilliland, I believe formerly identified here. I might say at this time, just briefly, that this man just contacted me a few minutes ago in the corridor. He just contacted Miss Laks, either late last night or this morning, and I have not had time to go into the matter with him or to discuss it with him. If you give him some extension of time, even if it is only until this afternoon, we would have time to consult at lunch time.

The Chairman. That is not unreasonable.

Mr. Arens. I think the record should show when he was served. I do not want this record to reflect any precipitous action on the part of this committee because I am sure he had ample time.

Mr. Gilliland. Last Thursday.

Mr. Arens. You were served, were you not, on March 8?

Mr. Bond. Was that last Thursday?

Mr. Arens. Yes.

The Chairman. Have you another witness?

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. Will you step aside. You have been sworn and you will be called this afternoon at some time.

(Witness temporarily excused.)

Mr. Arens. William Evans, will you please come forward?

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Evans. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM EVANS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND

Mr. Arens. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and oc-

Mr. Evans. My name is William Evans. My address is 404 (Street in Durham. I am at present, thanks to you gentlemen, unemployed.

Mr. Arens. Where were you last employed?

Mr. Evans. White Furniture Co.

Mr. Arens. Where is that located?

Mr. Evans. Hillsboro.

Mr. Arens. Hillsboro, N. C.?

Mr. Evans. Yes.

Mr. Arens. In what capacity were you employed there! Mr. Evans. Finisher.

Mr. Arens. Where and when were you born? Mr. Evans. September 17, 1923, in St. Pauls, N. C.

Mr. Arens. Give us, if you please, Mr. Evans, a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. Evans. I graduated from St. Pauls High School about 1940. I went 1 year to 12th grade in Lumberton until 1941. I attended Davidson College for 1½ years. I volunteered for the Army in March 1943. I served from March 1943 until about April 1946.

Mr. Arens. Where did you serve?

Mr. Evans. In Europe, in Germany, France. I was discharged in 1946. I entered the University of North Carolina in 1946, where I attended until 1949. I did some further graduate study at Duke.

Mr. Arens. What degrees have you received at those schools?

Mr. Evans. From University of North Carolina, A. B. and M. A. Since discontinuing study at Duke, I have had no further schooling. Mr. Arens. Give us, if you please, the employments in which you

have been engaged since you completed your formal education.

Mr. Evans. I worked for about, I suppose, a few months as a construction worker, and then as a bricklayer for about 2 years. in a cotton mill for a couple of years. I worked in a furniture factory, and then perhaps some other things in between. I think I have done some clerking in stores and a few odd jobs.

Mr. Arens. Were you here this morning? What time did you

arrive in the courthouse this morning?

Mr. Evans. I believe I was a little late. I think it may have been

that one witness was testifying when I got here.

Mr. Arens. Who was testifying when you got here this morning? Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, on the grounds that such an answer either way or any way I answer might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. What criminal offense do you think you might be charged with by saying you had heard anyone at all testifying? With

what criminal offense do you think you could be charged?

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committe under oath whether or not you knew the person who was testifying this morning before this committee when you arrived at this courthouse you would be supply information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that

any way I answer it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this witness be ordered and directed to answer the last question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer.

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds,

Mr. Arens. Mr. Charles Childs testified this morning under oath that while he was a member of the Communist Party he knew you as a Communist. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the grounds as pre-

viously stated.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you were and are a member of the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds I

have already stated.

Mr. Arens. Tell us the organizations with which you are identified at the present time. You told us a little while ago you are no longer identified with this furniture factory. With what organizations or groups are you presently identified?

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Evans. I believe this question invades my rights under the fifth amendment—under the first amendment and also the fifth amend-

ment—and I decline to answer on those grounds.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee under oath the truth as to the organizations with which you are presently identified you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness consulted his counsel.) Mr. Evans. I decline to answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. Evans. I didn't complete my last answer, Mr. Chairman. I was going to say I decline to answer under the fifth and first amendments; that it violates my right of association.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the American Legion?

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer. (Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Kearney. You decline to answer?

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think you could be charged with if you admitted you were a member of the American Legion?

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the grounds it might

incriminate me.

The Chairman. A moment ago you said thanks to this committee you had lost your job. That is not why you lost your job. Thanks to yourself you lost your job.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question whether or not he is

affiliated with the American Legion.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer the question on the grounds that in any way I answer might incriminate me.

Mr. Kearney. Are you a member of any veteran organization?

Mr. Evans. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Are you a peace partisan?

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question because is invades my right of belief on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest he be ordered and directed to

answer that question.

The Chairman. Since when is it wrong to advocate peace?

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer the same question on the same

grounds.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to deny or affirm as a fact, that you were one of the principal motivating and moving forces in this State in the circulation of the Stockholm peace petitions?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds. Mr. Arens. I advise you, sir, that the committee is considering legis-

lation dealing with the proposed registration of agencies which are controlled by the international Communist conspiracy. Therefore, it is germane to the work of this committee for us to undertake to solicit from you any information you have respecting the circula-

tion within this State by any organization of petitions instigated by a foreign power.

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the grounds pre-

viously stated.

The Chairman. It is not a question. Mr. Arens was merely pointing out to you what this committee is doing because after all we have under very active consideration the advisability of amending the Foreign Agents' Registration Act so as to include the organization to which you belonged.

Mr. Arens. Do you know or have you known a person by the name

of Aaron Schneider?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. Arens. Did you meet with Aaron Schneider when he came into this State just a short time ago on behalf of the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that in the recent past you did so meet with Aaron Schneider, representing the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in this State, and that you were instrumental in setting up meetings for him in this State, including a meeting at Winston-Salem, N. C.?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the grounds I previously stated.

Mr. Kearney. Who was Morton Sobell!

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that on the grounds previously stated.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Arens. When you were a member of the Armed Forces of the United States, did you transmit to any person not authorized by law to receive the same, confidential or security information?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Evans. I have never committed a disloyal act to my Government.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been a member of a conspiracy which is designed to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that any way I answer might incriminate me.

Mr. Arens. Were you under Communist discipline when you were

in the United States Army?

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the grounds it might incriminate me.

Mr. Arens. Are you today a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds. Mr. Arens. Have you advised or consulted with any person known by you to be a member of the Communist conspiracy since you received your subpena to appear before the House Committee on Un-American

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the grounds pre-

viously stated.

Mr. Arens. As one who has never, according to your description of yourself, committed a disloyal act, I would like to ask if you would do a loyal act and give this committe any information you may have respecting operations of the Communist conspiracy in this Nation.

Mr. Evans. I decline to answer that question on the grounds pre-

viously stated.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever taken an oath of allegiance to the United

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Evans. Mr. Chairman, I previously stated that I have served in the Armed Forces, and you take an oath when you go into the armed services.

Mr. Arens. Did you take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

 ${f Mr.~Evans.}$ I believe that is the substance of the oath.

Mr. Arens. Did you take such an oath?

Mr. Evans. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you at at the time you took the oath have a mental reservation because of an identification you had with a conspiracy to overthrow the Constitution of the United States!

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Evans. Mr. Chairman, I can understand why you pose a question in that way, but I am afraid I will still have to decline to answer on the ground I have already stated.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would con-

clude the interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions from the committee members? If not, the witness is excused from further attendance under this subpena. The committee will now stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Present at the time of taking the recess were Representatives Wal-

ter, Willis and Kearney.)

(Therenpon, at 12:05 p. m., Monday, March 12, 1956, a recess was taken until 2 p. m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION-MONDAY, MARCH 12, 1956

(Present at the convening of the afternoon session were Representatives Walter (presiding), Willis, and Kearney.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Call your next witness.

Mr. Årens. Nathaniel Bond. Mr. Arens. Is the record clear that you have been sworn?

Mr. Bond. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, he has been sworn.

TESTIMONY OF NATHANIEL BOND—Resumed

Mr. Arens. Will you please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. Bond. Nathaniel Bond, instructor of language at Bluefield State College, Bluefield, W. Va. Originally from Durham, N. C.

Mr. Arens. Where and when were you born? Mr. Bond. June 20, 1927.

Mr. Arens. Where?

Mr. Bond. In Durham.

Mr. Arens. Give us, if you please, a brief rundown of your educa-

tional background.

Mr. Bond. I received all my education, formal, in Durham; elementary and high school as well as college. I graduated from the Hillside High School in Durham as valedictorian of the class of 1944. I graduated from North Carolina College in 1949.

Mr. Arens. What degree, please?

Mr. Bond. A. B. in French, major in French, and minor in German. I also did graduate work at North Carolina College, finishing in 1951, with a major in French and a minor in English.

Mr. Arens. What degree did you receive in 1951?

Mr. Bond. In 1951, the M. A. degree. I forgot to mention I graduated summa cum laude in 1949.

Mr. Arens. Does that complete your formal education?

Mr. Bond. Yes, it does.

Mr. Arens. Was it in 1951 that you received your M. A. degree?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Kindly give us a résumé of the employments you have had since 1951 at the time you completed your formal education.

Mr. Bond. I have mainly worked with family enterprises of our

Mr. Arens. What were those family enterprises?

Mr. Bond. And some odd jobs. My mother operates a home for the aged and infirm in Durham. I have also worked as a clerk and secretary.

Mr. Arens. Where?

Mr. Bond. With a poultry wholesale business.

Mr. Arens. Where?

Mr. Bond. In Durham, and with my cousin's frosted custard place, also as a clerk, in Durham. I think that is the major.

Mr. Arens. When did you begin your teaching activities?

Mr. Bond. Really I began just in November, but, however, as a student in college in my senior undergraduate year I did tutoring at North Carolina College in French and German, and on a scholarship basis under the tutorial system.

Mr. Arens. How many students did you tutor at North Carolina

Mr. Bond. Only small groups. That was really special attention for certain students.

Mr. Arens. Were you employed by the school or by the students!

Mr. Bond. By the school.

Mr. Arens. Who was your immediate superior at the North Carolina College? Who employed you?

Mr. Bond. The dean of the college, I suppose.

Mr. Arens. Could you tell us a word about your employment at Bluefield?

Mr. Bond. I didn't understand the question.

Mr. Arens. Give us a word about your employment, Bluefield College. Is that a State institution?

Mr. Bond. Yes, it is.

Mr. Arens. Is it an agricultural school or an art school?

Mr. Bond. No. It is more or less a liberal-arts school. It was a teachers' college, but it is no longer listed as a teachers' college.

Mr. Arens. Is it a coeducational institution? Mr. Bond. Yes, it is.

Mr. Arens. Is it an institution for mixed races?

Mr. Bond. It is a mixed institution.

Mr. Arens. Do you know if it receives Federal funds?

Mr. Bond. Not that I know of.

Mr. Arens. What is the enrollment of the school?

Mr. Bond. I think it is about 400 or more. I am not sure. Mr. Arens. How many students in your classes?

Mr. Bond. I suppose about——
Mr. Arens. Would you please raise your voice. We are having difficulty hearing you.

Mr. Bond. I guess about 50. They are very small classes.

are so many small classes because it is a very small school.

Mr. Arens. When were you actually employed by the Bluefield

State College in West Virginia?
Mr. Bond. The first of November 1955.

Mr. Arens. Are you under a contract?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. How long does your contract run?

Mr. Bond. Through May, I believe, of this year.

Mr. Arens. Did you fill out an application at the time you sought employment at that college?

Mr. Bond. No, I didn't go through the formality. Mr. Arens. How did you obtain your job there?

Mr. Bond. Really, one of the members of the faculty became ill and had to leave, so I came more or less as a replacement. I suppose they called around to the various colleges and they got my records from North Carolina College and called me directly.

Mr. Arens. Were you on a register of some type as a prospective

tutor or prospective professor?

Mr. Bond. No, I don't think so.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us a better idea as to how you got your

job at Bluefield State College?

Mr. Bond. I suppose the authorities there consulted with various institutions about persons available who had graduated from their particular institutions.

Mr. Arens. How did North Carolina College know that you were

Mr. Bond. Because I lived there all my life and I know everybody

Mr. Arens. Did you have a teacher's certificate?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. When did you receive your teacher's certificate?

Mr. Bond. I guess about 1954 or 1955.

Mr. Arens. Do you presently hold a teacher's certificate in North Carolina?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us about some of your other activities? You have told us about your educational background and experience and the fact that you graduated at the top of your class and your scholastic achievements. Tell us about some of your other activities. We are interested.

Mr. Bond. I served in the Army for a brief period in the European

theater.

Mr. Arens. When?

Mr. Bond. After the war was over—from October 1945 through Jan-

Mr. Arens. In what capacity did you serve?

Mr. Bond. I worked in the personnel section as a clerk.

Mr. Arens. In the personnel section?

Mr. Bond. Yes, as clerk for headquarters company in the battalion headquarters.

Mr. Arens. Where?

Mr. Bond. In Munich, Germany, and also in Schongau, I believe was the place.

Mr. Arens. Were you drafted or did you enlist in the Army? Mr. Bond. I was drafted.

Mr. Arens. Who was your superior?

Mr. Bond. Immediate? Warrant Officer Dan Haley from Louisiana.

Mr. Arens. What did you do in the line of your duty in this personnel section as an enlistee or draftee in the Army in Europe? What

Mr. Bond. My main work was keeping records.

Mr. Arens. Records of what?

Mr. Bond. Service records.

Mr. Arens. Did you have access to any restricted or confidential information?

Mr. Bond. I don't know that I did.

Mr. Arens. Did you have access to the personnel records of other service personnel in the United States Army?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Stationed in Germany, is that correct?

Mr. Bond. Yes; the regular service records.

Mr. Arens. What did you do with the records?

Mr. Bond. I simply made entries whenever I was requested to do so. Mr. Arens. Did you also excerpt from the records information to be

used in the course of your duties?

Mr. Bond. Not that I recall.

Mr. Arens. Tell us some of the other activities in which you have been engaged. You told us about your education, about your Army service, and you told us about your teaching activities. other activities in which you have engaged in this area.

Mr. Bond. I am a member of the Alpha Kappa Mu Honorary

Society.

Mr. Arens. What is that?

Mr. Bond. An honor society.

Mr. Arens. A scholastic society?

Mr. Bond. Yes; it is.

Mr. Arens. Where is the chapter of which you are a member !

Mr. Bond. At Bluefield. I became a member at North Carolina College. I am merely an assistant adviser to that.

Mr. Arens. Are you presently active in this fraternity?

Mr. Bond. Yes; as assistant adviser.

Mr. Arens. Does that position carry compensation?

Mr. Bond. No.

Mr. Arens. Is it professional work?

Mr. Bond. No.

Mr. Arens. Just a scholastic fraternity.

Mr. Bond. Yes; it is.

Mr. Arens. How long have you been in that fraternity?

Mr. Bond. I believe I was inducted in 1949.

Mr. Arens. And are you still active in the fraternity?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Where do the meetings of the fraternity take place?

Mr. Bond. I won't say I was active in it during that period.

Mr. Arens. Are you now active in it?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. How often are the meetings held?

Mr. Bond. There are no set regular meetings. They just meet whenever the group decides.

Mr. Arens. Where do they meet?

Mr. Bond. In the administration building of the school.

Mr. Arens. At Bluefield State College?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. How many students do you advise or consult?

Mr. Bond. Actually I haven't done too much. I am new there. I am more or less observing. They already had a director for the group. I am more or less observing.

Mr. Arens. How many are in this group? Mr. Bonn. I think there are only 6 or 7.

Mr. Arens. Is it a mixed group from the standpoint of the sexes?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. And you are the adviser or the assistant adviser!

Mr. Bond. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. You have told us about your education, Army career, teaching and advising in this scholastic fraternity. Now tell us about some of the other activities in which you have been engaged.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. Could you say specifically what?

Mr. Arens. You tell us. You have volunteered the fraternity. Are there any other groups or any other activities with which you have been identified? The committee is interested in your activities.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I am not so sure as to whether or not that particular question may not be a violation of the first amendment. However-

Mr. Arens. Just a minute. Perhaps we can help you a little.

Mr. Bonn. I would say I have been—

Mr. Arens. You have been active in enlightening the youth of the schools in this area. You are active in the fraternity. In sharpening the cultural aptitudes and attainments of young people, may I ask, have you been active in public affairs of any kind, character, or description which sought to shape the course and destiny of this Nation?

Mr. Bond. As I was about to say just a minute ago, after my "however," I don't mind saying that I have been very active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Arens. Let us pause there. I think the committee might be interested in your attainments in that field. Do you hold a post in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I think that the same thing applies here. In answering that question I may be neglecting to hold up some of my rights under the first amendment, but I don't mind saying that I was the first president of the North Carolina Conference of Youth Councils and College Chapters of the National Association.

Mr. Arens. When were these youth councils and chapters of the

NAACP in session? When were you elected president?

Mr. Bond. I believe it was in 1948, the spring of 1948.

Mr. Arens. Where were you located in 1948?

Mr. Bond. In Durham, where I have been most of my life.

Mr. Arens. Do you still hold that position?

Mr. Arens. How long were you president of the North Carolina Conference of Youth Councils and College Chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

Mr. Bond. I would say about 2 years.

Mr. Arens. That would be until 1950; is that correct?

Mr. Bond. Yes; until about 1950.

Mr. Arens. How many youth councils of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were under your jurisdiction as president of the North Carolina conference?

Mr. Bond. I think I would say there were from 15 to 20.

Mr. Arens. Fifteen to twenty separate councils?

Mr. Bond. Yes; some active and some rather inactive.

Mr. Arens. How many members were there in these councils and chapters from 1948 to 1950 when you were president?

Mr. Bond. I couldn't give you exact figures. Mr. Arens. What is your best estimate?

Mr. Bond. I would say there were certainly less than a thousand.

Mr. Arens. Were there approximately 1,000?

Mr. Bond. Including the whole State there may have been. I won't be definite on that.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us the precise name of this organization of which you were president?

Mr. Bond. The North Carolina Conference of Youth Councils and

College Chapters of the NAACP.

Mr. Arens. In which schools of the State were these councils in existence?

Mr. Bond. I organized a chapter at North Carolina College.

Mr. Arens. Let us pause right there. I think it would be helpful to the committee. How many people were in this council which you organized at North Carolina College?

Mr. Bond. I would say there were roughly 100. Maybe a few more.

Roughly 100.

Mr. Arens. Is that council still in existence?

Mr. Bond. Yes; it is.

Mr. Arens. Is the membership substantially the same? Mr. Bond. It may be a bit less, but it is still in existence.

Mr. Arens. Tell us another council which you organized or which was under your supervision when you were president?

Mr. Bond. There was a chapter at Shaw University at Raleigh,

N. C.

Mr. Arens. How do you spell it?

Mr. Bond. Shaw, S-h-a-w.

Mr. Arens. Tell us about that council. Did you organize that one?

Mr. Bond. No; I did not.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us the membership of that council?

Mr. Bond. No.

Mr. Arens. Is that council still in existence?

Mr. Bond. I think so.

Mr. Arens. What is the approximate membership?

Mr. Bond. I haven't heard the recent figures.

Mr. Arens. Would it be 25?

Mr. Bond. I haven't heard the figures on it. I don't know really.

Mr. Arens. Let us have another council or chapter which you organized or supervised?

Mr. Bond. There was a chapter, I think, at Johnson C. Smith Uni-

versity, Charlotte, at the time also.

Mr. Arens. Did you organize that one?

Mr. Bond. No.

Mr. Arens. Is that one still in existence?

Mr. Bond. Yes; I think so.

Mr. Arens. What is the approximate membership of that one?

Mr. Bond. I don't know.

Mr. Arens. These councils, I take it, are limited to youth; is that correct?

Mr. Bond. Yes, only.

Mr. Arens. What is the minimum age?

Mr. Boxp. Is has varied over the years, but about 21.

Mr. Arens. The approximate age? Mr. Bond. On up to 25 or 26, I think.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us about another council that you organized or was part of the entity of which you were president?

Mr. Bond. I think there was a council at Bennett College and

A. and T.

Mr. Arens. And those schools are in this State?

Mr. Bond. Yes, in Greensboro.

Mr. Arens. Were those councils likewise under your supervision

when you were president from 1948 to 1950?

Mr. Bond. Yes; of course, the youth session of the national association was very limited in its activities, because of the financial situation and so forth, which the youth were not able to meet themselves. Most of the direction came really from the local branches of the youth council, actually, as well as the organization.

Mr. Arens. Tell us another council with which you were identified

or which was under your presidency.

Mr. Bond. The Durham Youth Council, Chapel Hill, 1 in Tryon, I believe, 1 in Lumberton.

Mr. Arens. Are these youth councils still in existence in the several

areas you have just identified?

Mr. Bond. They go up and down so frequently that I really don't know.

Mr. Arens. Who was your successor as president of the youth councils of this State?

Mr. Bond. I believe it was Mr. Robertson, of Durham.

Mr. Arens. What is his first name?

Mr. Bond. I don't recall his first name.

Mr. Arens. Was it Joseph?

Mr. Bond. I am not sure. I don't know.

Mr. Arens. Do you know who is presently the head of the youth councils?

Mr. Bond. I think it is the president—the young lady who is president of the college chapter at N. C. C.

Mr. Arens. N. C. C. is North Carolina College?

Mr. Bond. North Carolina College. Mr. Arens. Do you know her name?

Mr. Bond. I think it is Shirley Temple James.

Mr. Arens. She is the present chairman or head of these youth councils?

Mr. Boxp. Yes, for the State.

Mr. Arens. For the State of North Carolina? Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Do you know who the vice president is at the present time?

Mr. Bond. No.

Mr. Arens. What do these youth councils do or what did they do

when you were president?

Mr. Bond. They got their main direction, as I said, from the local branches, and usually whatever activities the senior branches were engaging in, the youth groups sort of cooperated with them or worked separately on the same thing. That is the way it usually worked.

Mr. Arens. Do these youth councils have a program that they want

to put across?

Mr. Bond. They are not what you could say separate from the senior groups.

Mr. Arens. What are senior groups? We are getting into another field.

Mr. Bond. I mean the branches.

Mr. Arens. What senior branches?

Mr. Bond. I think there were about over 100 branches throughout

Mr. Arens. There are about 100 senior branches of what?

Mr. Bond. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Arens. Located within this State?

Mr. Boxb. Yes, I think so.

Mr. Arens. Where are they? Just scattered around fairly well over the State?

Mr. Bond. Yes. Out at Asheville, all the way to the far eastern part of the State.

Mr. Arens. What is the aggregate membership of all of these branches?

Mr. Bond. I think it is around 10,000.

Mr. Arens. Who is head of them?

Mr. Bond. Mr. Alexander of Charlotte.

Mr. Arens. Are you active in this State organization? Mr. Bond. No, I am not active in the State organization.

Mr. Arens. In what are you active?

Mr. Bond. I have been active in the Durham branch as a member of the executive board for several years, but I am not there now.

Mr. Arens. Are you still active in the work here in this State?

Mr. Bond. No.

Mr. Arens. Are you active in that type of work in West Virginia?

Mr. Bond. No.

Mr. Arens. Tell us about other activities in which you have engaged since you graduated at the head of your class.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Arens. Have you been active in any other movements here in this area?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I told my main interests.

Mr. Arens. Then let us have some of your minor interests.

Mr. Boxp. I think I will rest with that on the first—

Mr. Arens. I understood you to say you completed your formal education in 1951. Was I correct in my impression that you completed your formal education in 1951?

Mr. Gilliland. Let him finish his last answer.

Mr. Arens. Was I correct in my interpretation of your statement that you completed your formal education in 1951!

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Could you tell us what other, we will call it part-time, education you have had since 1951?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Boxp. That is a very broad question. I think that——

Mr. Arens. Have you been one of the intellectual leaders in this area since you graduated at the head of your class?

Mr. Boxp. I think I decline to answer further questions on grounds

of the 1st, 5th, and 14th amendments.

Mr. Arens. You have been one of the intellectual leaders among the youth in this State since you graduated at the head of your class; have you not?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Arens. I would like to lay before you a photograph which has been identified in this record, and see if that might prompt your recollection. Do you recall at any time having seen that building which is portrayed in this photograph?

Mr. Bond. I think I will have to decline.

Mr. Arens. Decline what?

Mr. Bond. On the same grounds, sir, the 1st, 5th, and 14th amendments.

Mr. Arens. I am at a little loss here. I do not understand why you cannot identify this photograph here.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Miss Laks. Is there a question before the witness?

Mr. Arens. Counsel has read the rules of this committee and knows that the counsel's activity is exclusively limited to advising the witness with reference to his constitutional rights.

I am asking whether or not you can identify that photograph.

Mr. Bond. I will have to decline on the same ground. Mr. Arens. What do you mean on the same grounds? Mr. Bond. The 1st, the 5th, and 14th amendments.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee the truth as to whether or not you can identify this photograph you would be giving information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Bond. I decline on the same ground.

Mr. Arens. During the time you were active in these youth councils in the State of North Carolina, were you also a member of any other organization?

Mr. Bond. I think I will have to decline.

The Chairman. You are not under any compulsion. You said, "I have to decline." You do not have to decline. Do you decline?

Mr. Bond. I decline because I am afraid that if I attempt to answer,

my answer might tend to incriminate me, might tend to.

Mr. Arens. While you were connected with the youth councils and head of all these youth councils over the State, were you receiving orders and instructions from some other organization as to what you should do in these councils?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Boxp. I think I will have to decline on the same grounds, 1st,

5th, and 14th amendments.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that while you were head of these youth councils and various chapters throughout the State, you were receiving orders from the Communist conspiracy as to what you were to do. If that is not the fact, here and now is the place for you to stand up and deny it.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I would like to answer the question, but I think I will have to refuse——

Mr. Arens. You can answer. Nobody is holding you back.

Mr. Bond (continuing). On the same grounds because my answer

might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee of the Congress the truth, while you are under oath, as to whether or not while you were head of these youth councils, you were receiving directions from the Communist conspiracy as to what you should do, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Boxp. I think I will have to decline.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness

be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question. Again let me tell you, you are not under any compulsion to refuse to answer. You are directed to answer the question.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Boxp. I don't know anything else to do except to decline on the basis of the 1st, 5th, and 14th amendments. Mr. Arens. There is something else you can do. You can tell us the truth. Were you receiving instructions from the Communist conspiracy while you were head of these youth councils all over the State?

Mr. Bond. I decline on the same ground.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend you might give information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding if you gave a truthful answer to that question?

Mr. Bond. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that he be ordered and directed to answer that question.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. Arens. Are you at this moment under Communist discipline?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I will have to decline on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Who engaged your lawyer, sitting to your right? Did you engage her, or was she engaged for you by some other person or persons?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

The Chairman. You do not need legal advice to answer that question.

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. As I said when I asked for a delay, I had not had ample time for consultation because I just contacted the attorneys this morning.

Mr. Ārens. Your lady counsel is from New York; is she not?

Mr. Bond. I understand she is.

Mr. Arens. How did she happen to appear here today?

The Chairman. You understand? Do you not know where your counsel is from?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Arens. Can you answer the question?

Mr. Bond. What is the question again?

Mr. Arens. Your lady lawyer is from New York; is she not?

Mr. Bond. I will have to-

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. My understanding is that the relationship between me and my counsel is supposed to be confidential, so I don't—

Mr. Arens. I am only asking you where she is from. Was Miss

Lake sent here from New York?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I think all that I can say on this question is that I retained them today.

Mr. Arens. Is that so? How did you happen to make her acquain-

tanceship?

Mr. Bond. Privileged communication, I guess.

Mr. Arens. Who told you that? Your counsel right there, did she not? The truth is that your counsel was sent here from the Communist Party in New York, isn't that so?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

 ${f Mr.~Arens.~Would}$ you answer the question?

Mr. Bond. I decline to answer on the grounds that the relationship of client and counsel is confidential and also on the grounds of the amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you been active in the Progressive Party in this State?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I think I will have to rest on the amendments, the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. The truth is that you were active in the Progressive Party in this State, isn't that so?

Mr. Bond. I have to decline for the same reason.

Mr. Arens. You were also active in the Daniels Defense Committee here, were you not?

Mr. Bond. I decline on the same ground.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you were in attendance at the Communist Party leadership training school in August 1952, which was held on the farm of William Binkley near Walnut Cove, N. C.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. What time did you arrive at the hearing this morning at the court house?

Mr. Bond. It think it was just about 10 o'clock.

Mr. Arens. Was somebody testifying when you got here?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I think so.

Mr. Arens. Who was testifying? (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I decline on the grounds of the fifth amendment. Mr. Arens. Why?

Mr. Bond. The same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee who was testifying when you arrived at this hearing you might be giving information that could be used against you in a criminal pro-

Mr. Bond. I have to decline on the same grounds, the fifth amend-

ment.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been a member of an organization dedicated to the destruction of the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. Bond. I decline to answer on the grounds of the 1st, 5th, and

14th amendments.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that in the presence of this witness, Mr. Childs be requested to resume the stand.

The Chairman. Mr. Childs, will you come forward?

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES BENSON CHILDS—Resumed

Mr. Arens. Mr. Childs, you have been sworn this morning to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. During the course of your testimony this morning you spoke about a Communist Party training school which was held in August 1952, on the farm of William Binkley, near Walnut Grove, N. C., is that correct?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Were you in attendance at that school?

Mr. Cиньs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. During the attendance at that school, did you have occasion to make the acquaintanceship and to know as a Communist a person by the name of Nat Bond?

Mr. Childs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you see in this courtroom today the person whom you knew as a Communist at that Communist Party leadership training school in this State in 1952?

Mr. Снидs. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arexs. Would you kindly stand up, look him in the eye, and point him out to this committee!

(Witness stands and points.)

Mr. Childs. He is the witness before the committee now.

Mr. Arens. Resume your seat, Mr. Bond.

TESTIMONY OF NATHANIEL BOND-Resumed

Tell us, Mr. Bond, was Mr. Childs lying or telling the truth when he said under oath a moment ago that he knew you as a Communist, and identified you as such before this committee?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Boxo. I have to decline to answer that question on the grounds of the 1st, 5th, and 14th amendments, and also because my counsel have not had the opportunity to cross-examine the witness.

Mr. Arens. Was he lying or was he telling the truth? Mr. Bond. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever seen this gentleman, Mr. Childs, before?

Mr. Bond. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest Mr. Childs now be excused from the witness chair, Mr. Chairman.

(Witness temporarily excused.)

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest in the presence of this witness, another witness be requested to briefly assume the witness chair. Mr. Ralph Clontz, will you please assume the witness chair? Mr. Clontz, you have been sworn this morning to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

TESTIMONY OF RALPH C. CLONTZ, JR.—Resumed

Mr. CLONTZ. Yes; I have.

Mr. Arens. During the course of your experience in the Communist Party as an undercover agent, as one who was not ideologically identified with the party but as one who was serving your country patriotically by penetrating the Communist Party for purposes of procuring information, did you have occasion to make the acquaintanceship or to know a person by the name of Nat Bond?

Mr. CLONTZ. Yes: I did.

Mr. Arens. In what capacity did you know that person?

Mr. Clontz. I knew Nathaniel Bond through his activities in the Daniels Defense Committee, through his solicitation of subscriptions to Freedom, a Communist publication out of New York City, and also subscriptions, as I recall, to the Daily Worker.

Mr. Arens. That is the Communist Daily Worker?

Mr. Clontz. The Communist Daily Worker.

Mr. Arens. Could you give us a word about the Daniels Defense Committee for this record?

Mr. Clontz. The Daniels Defense Committee was a Communist-front organization set up by the party with Communist Party domination, control, and complete direction. I attended the founding meeting and attended most of the meetings while I was here in North Carolina, and Mr. Bond was an officer of that alleged committee. My recollection is that he was the treasurer at one time. It was one of those typical Communist plots. They take a supposed trial at which a Negro has been unjustly convicted, they claim, and blow it up for the benefit of the party.

In this particular case the Daniels Defense Committee held meetings all over North Carolina in churches and various other places in North

Carolina and even, as I recall, went north.

Mr. Arens. Do you now see in this courtroom the person known by you as Nathaniel Bond, whom you have described in connection with these various activities?

Mr. Clontz. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly confront him, stand up, look him in the eye, and point him out to the committee?

(Witness stands and points.)

Mr. CLONTZ. That is Nathaniel Bond, the witness.

TESTIMONY OF NATHANIEL BOND-Resumed

Mr. Arens. Now, Nathaniel Bond, you have heard the testimony under oath of this witness who served his Government as an undercover agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, patriotically procuring information against a foreign-controlled conspiracy. Will you tell this committee whether or not he is lying or telling the truth? (Witness Bond consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I think I will have to decline to answer that question on the grounds of the 1st, 5th, and 14th amendments, and also because

my counsel has not had the right to cross-examine the witness.

The Chairman. Just a minute in that connection. Let me call your attention to the fact that in all criminal proceedings where a charge has been made, the accused has never had an opportunity to cross-examine witnesses when the accusation is made. That is exactly this situation. It doesn't become an issue of fact until you have affirmed or denied the accusation. You have been accused. Is it true or isn't it true?

(Witness Bond consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. You were directing the question to me?

The Chairman. Yes.

Mr. Bond. I have to decline on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Clontzbe excused from the witness chair for a few moments.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. Arens. Thank you, Mr. Clontz. (Witness Clontz temporarily excused.)

Mr. Arens. One further question now. You realize, of course, you are now under oath before this committee. do you not?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Arens. You do not have to consult your counsel to find out whether or not you are under oath. You know you are under oath; do you not?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Arens. You know, of course, if you consciously lie under oath, you could be subject to perjury prosecution. You know that; do you not?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

(No response.)

Mr. Arens. Do you propose after your release from this subpena to step outside this courtroom and say to the press in effect, "Of course I have never been a member of the Communist Party, but I wasn't going to tell that witch-hunting committee whether or not I was in the Communist Party?

Mr. Bond. I have to decline to answer that question on the grounds

of the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. We have no further questions of this witness, Mr.

Chairman.

The Charman. Are there any questions from the committee? Suppose that this committee were to arrange to grant you immunity, would you testify under those conditions?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Bond. I think I will have to stick to the 1st and 5th amendments on that.

The Chairman. All right. You are excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. Arens. Now, Mr. Chairman, we should like to recall Mr. Clontz for testimony with reference to additional activities within this State. He has thus far identified 2 or 3 people. Would you kindly take the witness stand, Mr. Clontz?

TESTIMONY OF RALPH C. CLONTZ, JR.—Resumed

Mr. Arens. Mr. Clontz, you have been sworn on this record?

Mr. Clontz. Yes, I have.

Mr. Arens. This morning you gave us a very brief résumé of your background, associations, and penetration of the Communist Party at the behest and cooperation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; is that correct?

Mr. CLONTZ. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. Would you at your own pace briefly give us a summary appraisal of the Communist activities in this State during the period of the time you were a member, with particular reference to the Progressive Party, the Daniels Defense Committee, and the activities of the Morton Sobell Committee?

Mr. CLONTZ. During the time that I was—probably I should clarify this. I was connected with Junius Scales and other party members and involved in activities with people like the preceding witness, Nathaniel Bond, from 1948 until 1950, before I actually managed to achieve membership in the conspiracy or actually in the party.

It was during this time that I first came in contact with the Communist-front organizations and with their activities in connection with

the Progressive Party.

The Communist Party was very active, first of all, in the Progressive Party. Junius Scales and his wife; William A. McGirt, who has previously been identified to the committee, and William Evans, who has also been a witness here today; and numerous other party people were

active throughout the State of North Carolina in support of the Progressive Party. Among other things, they were walking the streets getting petitions signed to get the Progressive Party on the ballot in North Carolina.

In the Daniels Defense Committee my experience there was that the Communist Party stayed in the background, so far as known Communists were concerned. For example, at the meetings Junius Scales and Henry Farash, who was the party organizer from New York, would not be seen inside the church. People like Bond, who could hide behind his supposed connection with the NAACP, and other people of his ilk, would actually run the show, while Scales, Farash, and other people like that would control the show from the outside.

Many people were misled by what appeared to be an injustice that had taken place in Greenville, N. C. Many of our Negro churches let these people come into this building and hold meetings and in some cases take up collections through the misapprehension that they were helping the cause of justice, whereas actually they were helping the

cause of the Communist Party.

Various other so-called people's organizations were sponsored by the party. One in particular I remember I went to in either Greensboro or Winston-Salem—I am not certain of the town—called the People's Legislative Conference. This theoretically was a meeting of a broad group of people who were going to present to the North Carolina Legislature the needs of the common people. Actually I found the same old gang there that I had found at all the other party-front meetings all over the State. They just called it something different.

The moderator on that occasion was a Karl Korstad, who then was an organizer in the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers

Union of America over in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. That union subsequently merged into Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America CIO?

Mr. CLONTZ. My recollection is that it did.

Mr. Arens. Is that the one of which Arthur Osman is the head!

Mr. CLONTZ. I don't have personal knowledge of that. Incidentally, William A. McGirt, when I last saw him, was working in the food and tobacco union, as it was then called, over in Winston-Salem, working under Karl Korstad, according to what he told me. Again I have no personal knowledge.

The menace of the Communist Party as I see it is twofold. First of all, I consider that any Communist Party member who has dedicated himself to the conspiracy is a traitor to his country, either actually or potentially, depending entirely on whether he has had the opportunity to commit the necessary act in front of the necessary wit-

nesses to satisfy the definition.

What I fear more is not the people we have seen here today who are known. They are the people that are put out for public consumption. They are offered on the altar as martyrs. But it is the people that Scales told me about that were sleepers, that were ordered underground back in the early thirties and later, that were sent into industry, sent into various jobs that had no connection whatever with the Communist Party, and told to wait until the time came.

Mr. Arens. How dangerous do you conceive the Communist Party to be today on the basis of your background and experience within

the party?

Mr. Clontz. I was answering that question. That is the first danger, the sleepers. I feel that we have the equivalent, certainly, of two enemy divisions if and when the Soviet Union starts a war. have the equivalent of two Soviet divisions already here. is that they are wearing our clothes and going under our freedoms.

The second danger from the Communist conspiracy is the way

they are able to mould public opinion.

Mr. Arens. Do you have illustrations of that!

Mr. CLONTZ. Yes. You can get one out of any paper. It creeps in. A misconception about the fifth amendment, for example. People of intelligence, loyal Americans, actually will tell you that the legal scholars say that a man may invoke the fifth amendment who is completely innocent of any charge. The thing that bothers me is that people of intelligence could do research and find out where did they get that from. They didn't get it from any legal scholars I have ever found. Yet that is the line that the Communist Party talks.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us an illustration or an explanation on the basis of your experience of the way the individual Communist is able to multiply his personal effectiveness through other people in obtaining a given objective?

Mr. Clontz. The Stockholm Peace Petition is a milder example. Over in the vicinity of Chapel Hill, Junius Scales and I together solicited signatures on this apparently innocuous document which was then presented to New York headquarters as an outpouring of sentiment in favor of the party and the party goals from North Carolina.

Another sample is the Rosenberg case. From all over the country letters poured in to, I am told, Congress. The party told me to every Government official. I heard party urgings that they be sent in. saw committees at work urging the freedom of the Rosenbergs. Yet at the same time I attended rallies and heard this Mrs. Sobell bring messages from the death house from the Rosenbergs which in effect

said, "Comrades, don't worry, we won't squeal."

I saw non-Communists sucked in on that "save the Rosenbergs" thing by having anti-Semitism thrown up as the reason why, clouding the issues, forgetting what the Rosenbergs were charged with, saying that the Rosenbergs should not be convicted because if they were executed, their children would be orphans. When most parents, die, their children sort of become orphans naturally. That was thrown up as a big issue, and that they were convicted because of anti-Semitism, whereas the facts simply proved otherwise.

Mr. Arens. I have here, Mr. Clontz, a photostatic copy of an article of the Communist Daily Worker of March 6, 1956, in which there is an interview with one Aaron Schneider, entitled, "Sobell Committee Organizer Finds New Spirit in South," in which Mr. Schneider, obviously a Communist, is testifying about what he has just recently

done in setting up Sobell committees throughout the South.

Do you have any information respecting Morton Sobell and the committees which were set up to bring pressure for his release from

the penitentiary?

Mr. Clontz. Actually I was in New York when these committees were first being started. Morton Sobell at that time was a sort of The main pitch was save the Rosenbergs, and then as a sort of second verse, they used to mention save Morton Sobell, and Mrs. Sobell traveled all over various places. But actually during my time,

pretending to be a Communist in North Carolina, there were no such

committees active.

Mr. Arens. Apparently from this Daily Worker they are reactivating it and they are down here again. May I ask you what was and what is the Communist Party line with reference to the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act?

Mr. CLONTZ. The party line was definitely in opposition to it.

Mr. Arens. What was and what is the Communist Party line with

reference to the Internal Security Act of 1950?

Mr. CLONTZ. The party reaction was best demonstrated by their spending 3 days burning incriminating documents at the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Mr. Arens. You witnessed that?

Mr. CLONTZ. I saw that. The elevator there was tied up for 3 days involved in transporting documents to the basement to burn.

Mr. Arens. How did you happen to be there?

Mr. CLONTZ. I was there under the auspices of Junius Scales, and I might say the Federal Government, attending that school for 3 weeks during the summer of 1950, after I had passed the bar examination here in North Carolina.

Mr. Arens. Did you run onto Professor Boudin while you were at the Jefferson School, which is to school Communists, as everyone in

this field knows?

Mr. CLONTZ. No, I didn't encounter that particular professor.

Mr. Arens. What is the attitude of the Communist conspiracy in this country with reference to the committee conducting these hearings?

Mr. CLONTZ. I don't think they have yet thought of a punishment they felt would be appropriate for the committee. It is portrayed as Nazis, Fascists, traitors, suppressors of the people. You name it.

Mr. Arens. Witch hunters?

Mr. CLONTZ. Witch hunters. You name it, and if it is bad enough you have been called that.

Mr. Kearney. May I ask, is that the interpretation of the Commu-

nist Party of the members of this committee?

Mr. Clontz. Yes, sir.

Mr. Kearney. Coming from them I consider it a compliment.

Mr. Clontz. I would, too, sir.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest for the record that this witness has considerable information with reference to other areas of activity of the Communist Party, which is not germane to the issues being explored here today. At staff level we propose to interrogate him at length before we leave, since the information he has bears on the subject matter, but I do not believe it would be provident to get into it at this particular session.

I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that would conclude the interrogation unless there is some other observation or comment that the witness has to make with reference to the North Carolina situation.

Mr. CLONTZ. I would like to say this: I think a great mistake is made by a lot of people in assuming that the Communist Party in North Carolina was Junius Scales. The mistake is in assuming that one individual was the only thing that was an evil force, so to speak, in the Carolinas, whereas actually the effect of the party was scattered through the State, and the effect of the party can be seen in the leader-

ship positions which party people have held in our educational systems.

I feel that this committee has done a very good service to this section of the country in coming down here and giving us an opportunity to bring out into the open the connection that these people have for-

to bring out into the open the connection that these people have, forgetting Junius Scales, and individuals, and concentrating on the Com-

munist Party as a criminal conspiracy.

Mr. Arens. Have you any doubt in your mind on the basis of your background and experience within the Communist Party in this area, and also in New York City, that the Communist Party is in this instance in operation, in being, boring feverishly within this community and within this State?

Mr. CLONTZ. None whatever. The strategy of the Communist Party never changes. The tactics may, but the strategy calling for the overthrow of the Government has not changed since Karl Marx,

and the party says it never will.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully call the chairman's and the committee's attention to certain documents which are right now being circulated in this community under the auspices of the Carolina District Communist Party, USA, attacking the House Un-American Activities Committee, talking of the soiled record of this committee, attacking the personnel and staff of the committee for appearing here, which I believe is and of itself evidence that the Communist Party, at least in this community, is certainly not dead.

The Chairman. Are there any questions, Mr. Willis?

Mr. Willis. You stated that the Communists do not have such high regard for members of this committee. How do they look upon you as a former FBI man? Are you something less than a burn in their

opinion?

Mr. CLONTZ. I must confess they have been somewhat restrained. They also have not bothered to communicate with me directly their feelings. One difference is that they know that I never was one, and I think possibly they feel a little better toward one who has been one of the pack and didn't just pretend to be and turned and started "heating" the comrades. I have been called about as good names as you have, though.

Mr. Kearney. I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, the same as I did with regard to the first witness. I think the committee owes the witness a deep debt of gratitude; not only the committee, but the people of the State of North Carolina, and the American people at large.

You are to be commended and commended highly.

Mr. Willis. Yes, I want to say that too.

Mr. CLONTZ. Thank you, sir.

The Chairman. I want to join with my colleagues, and not only with them but with every Member of Congress but one, who voted for the appropriation for this committee. Last year this committee's appropriation was made by unanimous vote. This year there was one vote against. I think that is very conclusive proof of the fact that the Members of Congress at least are aware of what this conspiracy can and is doing. It is not to be laughed off. I think that the most dangerous people in our society are those who say, "So what?" The second most dangerous group consists of those well-meaning dogooders who sign petitions amicus curiae and who willynilly permit their names to be used in all sorts of causes. It is because of brave patrictic people like yourself that the FBI and the congressional

committees know a great deal about the activities of this hard-core conspiracy. But, as I see it, the danger is in these other two groups.

It would seem to me that we could not safely ease up in bringing to the American people an appreciation of what is going on in the still of the night.

Mr. Kearney. Just thinking out loud, I was wondering if you would agree with me that in general the American people have adopted, or

have, rather, a sort of soft attitude toward this question?

Mr. Clontz. I don't think it is a soft attitude. I have addressed over 200 different organizations in the two Carolinas, and I have not found a soft attitude, as much as I have an uninformed, primarily, and sometimes a misinformed situation on these various issues. They don't bother to get the facts. They don't concern themselves with it because they think this is something that goes on in New York City or Brooklyn or something like that. But certainly not in Charlotte, certainly not in North Carolina, and that it is something that foreigners engage in.

Mr. Kearney. Something that happens only in the large metro-

politan areas of this country.

Mr. Clontz. I think it is more a lack of information. I am one of these oldfashioned characters who says if you give the people the facts, they will come up with the right answer. I think they are not getting the facts and that is the reason for the apparent complacency in our section of the South.

The Chairman. I think at this point the committee will take a recess

of 10 minutes.

(Present at the taking of the recess were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearney.)

(Short recess.)

(Present following the recess were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearney.)

The Chairman. The committee will be in order.

Call your next witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. Joseph Blake, please.

The Charman. Raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Blake. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH FRANKLIN BLAKE, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND

Mr. Arens. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence and occupation.

Mr. Blake. My name is Joseph Blake. I presently live in Georgetown, S. C. Until last week I was a teacher in the public schools.

Mr. Arens. Are you appearing today in response to a subpena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Blake. That is right.

Mr. Arens. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. Blake. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Will counsel please identify themselves?

Miss Laks. Rhoda Laks, 615 Columbus Avenue, New York City.

Mr. Gilliand, Warrenton, N. C.

Mr. Arens. I understood you to say a moment ago, Mr. Blake, that until last week you were employed someplace in South Carolina as a teacher.

Mr. Blake. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. What is the name of the institution at which you were employed?

Mr. Blake. The Winyah Junior High School.

Mr. Arens. How do you spell that?

Mr. Blake. W-i-n-y-a-h Junior, J-u-n-i-o-r, High, H-i-g-h, School, S-c-h-o-o-l.

Mr. Arens. What did you teach there?

Mr. Blake. I taught reading in the seventh grade.

Mr. Arens. Did I understand you correctly that since last week you are not employed there!

Mr. Blake. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. What occasioned your disassociation from the school! (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Blake. I resigned my position there.

Mr. Arexs. What caused you to resign your position!

Mr. Blake. I resigned because I did not want to embarrass my school and community by my appearance before this committee.

Mr. Arens. Kindly tell us where and when you were born.

Mr. Blake. I was born January 24, 1922, in Chadbourn, N. C.

Mr. Arens. Give us a word, if you please, sir, respecting your formal education.

Mr. Blake. I graduted from the Chadbourn High School. I attended the University of North Carolina, where I received a bachelor's degree.

f Mr.~Arens.~When, please, $\sin ?$

Mr. Blake. In 1949, if my memory is correct.

Mr. Arens. Proceed, if you please, sir, with your formal education.

Mr. Blake. Then I also have a master's degree from the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Arens. When did you receive that!

Mr. Blake. 1953.

Mr. Arexs. Does that complete your formal education?

Mr. Blake. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Kindly proceed to give us a résumé of your employment since you completed your education.

Mr. Blake. In 1949-50, 1951-52, I taught in the public schools of Durham County in North Carolina.

Mr. Arens. In what schools did you teach? In high schools or grade schools?

Mr. Blake. I taught in high school.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us the names of the high schools?

Mr. Blake. The Oak Grove School.

Mr. Arens. In Durham?
Mr. Blake That is right

Mr. Blake. That is right.
Mr. Arens. What classes did you teach?

Mr. Blake. I taught the eighth grade.

Mr. Arens. All courses, I take it?

Mr. Blake. I believe that is correct.

Mr. Arens. What was your next employment?

Mr. Blake. My next employment was at the Wampee High School in Wampee, S. C.

Mr. ARENS. What occasioned your transfer from North Carolina to

South Carolina?

Mr. Blake. I moved to Wampee because that was near my home, Chadbourn.

Mr. Arens. Tell us about your employment there.

Mr. Blake. I taught at the Wampee High School in the seventh and eighth grades, if I remember correctly.

Mr. Arens. Give us your next employment, please, sir, and the

date.

Mr. Blake. My next employment was in Richmond, Va.

Mr. Arens. When?

Mr. Blake. If I remember correctly, 1954. I think that is the correct date.

Mr. Arens. In what school did you teach?

Mr. Blake. I did not teach.

Mr. Arens. What was your employment in Richmond? Mr. Blake. I worked in a paint store as credit manager.

Mr. Arens. Did you completely disassociate yourself from your previous employment when you worked in the paint store or was that a part-time job during the summer?

Mr. Blake. No; that was a full-time job.

Mr. Arens. What occasioned your transfer to Virginia? How did you happen to go there?

Mr. Blake. I moved north seeking, I suppose you could say, greater

economic advantage.

Mr. Arens. Give us the name of the paint store.

Mr. Blake. I believe it was Acme Paint Co.

Mr. Arens. A-c-m-e?

Mr. Blake. Yes.

Mr. Arens. At Richmond?

Mr. Blake. That is right.

Mr. Arens. How long were you employed there?

Mr. Blake. Most of that year.

Mr. Arens. Most of 1954?

Mr. Blake. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Continue, please, in the chronology of your employment.

Mr. Blake. Then I moved back to my hometown, Chadbourn.

Mr. Arens. What was your employment then?

Mr. Blake. In Chadbourn, I worked on my brother's farm.

Mr. Arens. That was in 1954, too, or was that 1955?

Mr. Blake. That was 1954-55.

Mr. Arens. What occasioned your return from Richmond?

Mr. Blake. I am fundamentally, I suppose, a backwoods southerner, and I desired—the longing for one's hometown, that kind of thing.

Mr. Arens. Kindly tell us what you did after you worked on your

brother's farm and how long you worked there.

Mr. Blake. I don't remember the exact number of months or weeks for that matter, but my following employment was in Georgetown where I began teaching school this September.

Mr. Arens. And you have been continuously employed ever since at Georgetown, is that correct?

Mr. Blake. Until last week, yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. For the purpose of identification, could you tell us your wife's name?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Blake. Would you repeat that question?
Mr. Arens. Will you tell us your wife's name, her maiden name, just for the purpose of identification for our record.

Mr. Blake. Dorothy Strausberg.

Mr. Arens. May I ask you in passing whether or not your father was a physician?

Mr. Blake. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. Did you serve in the United States Army?

Mr. Blake. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you ever know a person by the name—

Mr. Blake. Could I complete my answer to that question?

Mr. Arens. I beg your pardon. I thought you had concluded. Mr. Blake. No, sir, I have not. I served from 1942 to 1946, as an enlisted man in the United States Marine Corps.

Mr. Arens. Where did you serve?

Mr. Blake. Various posts and bases in this country, Guadalcanal, Bougainville, Samar, in the Philippines, Okinawa, and Japan. Mr. Arens. Did you have a commission or were you a private?

Mr. Blake. I was enlisted. I was discharged as a staff sergeant. Mr. Arens. During your activities in the past have you known a person by the name of Ralph Vernon Long?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question, sir, on the grounds, under the privileges granted me under the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. Why? Mr. Blake. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you knew or have known a person by the name of Ralph Vernon Long you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Blake. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. Blake. I must decline on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I should like to read you now, Mr. Witness, excerpts from testimony under oath before this committee, given in November 1954. The interrogating counsel at that time was Mr. Kunzig. The witness at that time was Ralph Vernon Long, who had identified himself before the committee as a former member of the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. Kunzig. Would you tell us just, not the previous portion prior to North Carolina-will you tell how you became a member at the University of North Carolina and what sort of member you were? Do you have a card?

Long. I was approached. I had been indoctrinated some time in the Army prior to my entering the University of North Carolina. There I met a gentleman by the name of Joseph Franklin Blake, whom I found out to be a member of the party. Joe found out I read the official west coast paper, the People's

World, the equivalent of the Daily Worker, and he began to talk straight communism with me and he took me to Junius Scales. He was a student in comparative literature at the time at the university. I wouldn't say I went looking for the Communist Party, but I was still under the influence of their ideology, and still reading that press, and this chance accident of meeting Joseph Franklin Blake and getting to know that he was a Communist, and he said I have known them, and he takes me to see Scales.

Kunzig. Give us the names of the persons you know to be party members. Long. Joseph Franklin Blake, and his wife, Dorothy Strausberg Blake.

Kunzig. Were they students?

Long. Joe was a student while I was there and he was a member of the party. As I mentioned before, Joseph Franklin Blake was in the party when I got in, and he was still in when I attended the last meeting. Joe was from Chadbourn, N. C. He was the son of a physician.

Kunzig. How do you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Long. I attended Communist Party meetings with him.

When Mr. Long was testifying under oath before this committee and gave the testimony which I have just read to you, was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mr. Blake. Same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee whether or not the testimony which I have just read to you was the truth you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the wit-

ness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question. I want to ask you, when you say "I must decline," do you mean that "I do decline to answer"?

Mr. Blake. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. All right. You are directed to answer the last

Mr. Blake. I decline for the same reason, sir.

Mr. Arens. Were you ever a student in comparative literature at the University of North Carolina?

Mr. Blake. Same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer that question.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Blake. Same grounds, sir.

Mr. Arens. I beg your pardon?

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question.

Mr. Arens. What is your middle name?

Mr. Blake. Franklin.

Mr. Arens. You are Joseph Franklin Blake; is that correct? Mr. Blake. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been known by any other name? (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question.

Mr. Arens. Do you apprehend that if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you have ever been known by any name other than the name of Joseph Franklin Blake, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Blake. Same reason.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that he be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question on the privileges accorded me by the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. How many students have you taught in the course of your teaching career?

Mr. Blake. I do not know. I can't answer that question.

Mr. Arens. Would it be in the thousands?

Mr. Blake. I doubt it.

Mr. Arens. Would it be in the hundreds? Mr. Blake. Yes, quite positively.

Mr. Arens. Have you taught social science?
Mr. Blake. I don't understand, sir. What do you mean by social science!

Mr. Arens. In your teaching courses, did you teach social science. political science, sociology?

Mr. Blake. Would you be more specific, sir? Social science—

Mr. Arens. You know what a course in social science is. Mr. Blake. That is what I am driving at. The social sciences are a very broad field.

Mr. Arens. What courses in social science or sociology have you ever taught?

Mr. Blake. I have never taught courses in sociology.

Mr. Arens. Have you taught political science?

Mr. Blake. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. Have you taught government?

Mr. Blake. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. Have you taught history?

Mr. Blake. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. In the course of your teaching history to these hundreds of students, have you had occasion to indoctrinate the course with a little communism as you went along?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever taken an oath of allegiance to the United

 ${f Mr.~Blake.~Would}$ you repeat that question?

Mr. Arens. Have you ever taken an oath of allegiance to this

Mr. Blake. If I remember correctly, sir, that is part of the standard procedure when you enlist in the Marine Corps.

Mr. Arens. Did you take an oath?

Mr. Blake. To the best of my recollection; yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Can you recall the essence of that oath?

Mr. Blake. No, sir, I cannot.

Mr. Arens. The oath was something along the line to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, and this country, against all enemies foreign and domestic; wasn't it?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Blake. It probably was. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. Arens. You took it, didn't you?

Mr. Blake. I took the oath; yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. At the time you took that oath, were you a participant in a foreign-controlled conspiracy designed to overthrow this Government by force and violence?

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee the truth as to your membership in a foreign-controlled conspiracy at the time you took that oath you would be giving information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Blake. The same answer.
Mr. Arens. Did you make any public pronouncements at the time you resigned from the employment you had until a week ago?

Mr. Blake. No, sir, I did not.

Mr. Arens. Did you talk to the head of the school when you resigned?

Mr. Blake. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you tell him anything about your past in the Communist Party?

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question, sir, on the pre-

viously stated grounds.

Mr. Arens. Was that a subject of discussion in your conversation with the head of the school?

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question on the same

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question under the privileges granted me by the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. Tell us what was discussed between you and the presi-

dent of the school at the time you resigned?

Mr. Blake. I beg your pardon, sir.

Mr. Arens. Tell us what was discussed between you and the head of the school, the principal, president, or chairman, at the time you resigned a week ago when you received this subpena.

Mr. Blake. I must decline on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, he be ordered

and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. Yes, you are directed to answer the question. You have already testified at the beginning of your testimony that you resigned because you didn't want to embarrass your employers, because you were subpensed to appear before this committee. What was the conversation which took place when you reached that conclusion?

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question, sir, on the same

grounds.

Mr. Arens. Do you propose after this hearing is over, after your release from your subpena, release from the obligations of telling the truth, release of the consequences of a perjury indictment, to step out in the hall or to go back to South Carolina and say to the folks, "Of course I am not a Communist. I have never been a Communist. But I am not telling that witch-hunting House Un-American Activities Committee about that." Do you propose a course of action along that line after you are not under oath to tell the truth?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Blake. I must decline to answer that question on the same

grounds.

Mr. Arens. In other words, if you would now tell us the truth as to what you propose to do when not under oath you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Blake. Was that a question, sir? Mr. Arens. Yes, sir.

Mr. Blake. The same answer, then.

Mr. Arens. Are you now under Communist discipline?

Mr. Blake. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you are now a member of the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. Blake. The same answer. Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions, Mr. Willis?

Mr. Willis. No.

The Chairman. General Kearney?

Mr. Kearney. No questions.

The Charman. The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman this completes our list of witnesses.

The Chairman. The committee will now stand adjourned and meet at 10 tomorrow morning.

Mr. Gilliand. I am not sure whether I will be here tomorrow, so

I would like to make a brief word today.

We are glad to have been here to represent these people or represent some of them. While you are all in the State of North Carolina, I would respectfully invite your attention to what would appear to me in my experience as being a very un-American situation here as outlined on the front page of our newspaper this morning regarding our school situation in this State, where a great number of our school pupils are about to be denied and where a large number of our high officials apparently are in the conspiracy to deny them the right of education, and now even our lawmakers have entered into a conspiracy to overrule the Supreme Court themselves——

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know what you are talking about.

Mr. GILLILAND. That will be all, then. I appreciate the opportunity of having been here, sir. It just appeared to me that it was un-American the way they were going about in preparing to deny our children the right of public schools.

The CHAIRMAN. Who do you mean "they"?

Mr. GILLILAND. The Governor's Advisory Committee on Education and their recommendations.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that have to do with this committee and

its responsibilities?

Mr. GILLILAND. I understood, sir, that you all were investigating un-American activities. I think the protection of minority groups where they are about to be denied their rights and where the high officials of the State are apparently trying to circumvent—not only circumvent, but to ignore and to do exactly opposite from what the Supreme Court has told them to do—I think that is un-American.

The Charman. I think what you are trying to do is to try to divert the attention of the people of this community from the witnesses you represented and what they have said and failed to say.

The committee will recess to meet tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon at 3:45 p. m., Monday, March 12, a recess was taken until 10 a. m., Tuesday, March 13, 1956.)

(Present at the taking of the recess were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearney.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NORTH CAROLINA AREA

TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1956

United States House of Representatives,
Subcommittee of the
Committee on Un-American Activities,
Charlotte, N. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met at 10 a.m., pursuant to recess, in the Federal Court House, Charlotte, N. C., Hon. Francis E. Walter, (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Walter, Willis, and

Kearnev.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, acting counsel, and W. Jackson Jones, investigator.

The Chairman. The committee will be in order. Call your first

witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. Mr. William Binkley; kindly come forward.

The Chairman. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Binkley. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM G. BINKLEY, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND

Miss Laks. Gentlemen, we have an application in connection with Mr. Binkley. Mr. Binkley has been quite ill and has just been to Dr. Gilmore Hodges of the clinic near Memorial Hospital. He received some medical treatment, and it was recommended that it would take about an hour for the medicine to take effect. Could we possibly have Mr. Binkley recalled in an hour or a little more?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Miss Laks. Thank you.

(Witness temporarily excused.)

The Charman. Call another witness.

Mr. Arens. Albert Warren Williams, please come forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Williams, I do.

TESTIMONY OF ALBERT WARREN WILLIAMS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND

Mr. Arens. Please identify yourself by name, residence and occu-

pation.

Mr. Williams. My name is Albert Warren Williams. I reside at 1979 Dacian Street, Winston-Salem. By occupation I am a sheetmetal worker.

Mr. Arens. Are you appearing today in response to a subpena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American

Activities ?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right.

Mr. Arens. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. Williams. That is right.

Mr. Arens. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourselves for the record?

Miss Laks. Rhoda Laks, 615 Columbus Avenue, New York City.

Mr. GILLILAND. James D. Gilliland, Warrenton, N. C.

Mr. Arens. Will you kindly give us the name of the plant in which you are employed?

Mr. Williams. A. & C. Metal Products Co.

Mr. Arens. In Winston-Salem? Mr. Williams. That is right.

Mr. Arens. Kindly give us a thumbnail sketch of your educational background prior to the time you became an adult and self-sustaining.

Mr. Williams. I attended public schools at Philadelphus in Robeson County, N. C., finishing high school in 1933. I attended college at Wake Forest College and William and Mary College at Norfolk, Va. I received a B. A. degree from Wake Forest in 1939, the M. A. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1948, doctor of philosophy at the University of North Carolina in 1953.

Mr. Arens. Tell us the various employments which you have had

since you received your Ph. D. degree in 1953.

Mr. Williams. Since I received my Ph. D. degree in 1953, I have been employed by the Aluminum Awning Products Co. of Winston-Salem, and the company where I am presently employed.

Mr. Arens. In what capacity were you employed by the Aluminum

Awning Products Co.?

Mr. Williams. In the same capacity that I am employed now, as a sheet-metal worker.

Mr. Arens. What do you do as a sheet-metal worker?

Mr. Williams. The product which these companies make is mainly aluminum awnings. I work on those, both hand work and on machines, installation, and so forth.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Williams, will you tell us some of the activities in which you have been engaged aside from your work in the pursuit of

your Ph. D. degree?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have taught. Is that what you mean?

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir.

Mr. Williams. I was a teacher in the public schools of North Carolina after receiving my B. A. degree from Wake Forest College in 1939.

Mr. Arens. Where did you teach, and what courses did you teach? Mr. Williams. The courses I taught were social science in high

school, English and French. I taught at Parkton in Robeson County, and Summerfield in Guilford County.

Mr. Arens. Over what period of time did you teach?

Mr. Williams. I taught until the spring of 1942, at which time my teaching and educational careers were interrupted by the war. I enlisted in the United States Army Air Forces in June of 1942 and was in service until October of 1945.

Mr. Arens. In what capacity did you serve?

Mr. Williams. I served in the Air Forces as a navigator on a B-24 bomber.

Mr. Arens. Where were you stationed?

Mr. Williams. I was stationed in North Africa near Tunis and in Italy, flying missions over Italy, Austria, and Germany. I flew nine missions over enemy territory as a navigator and was shot down in Austria in March 1944.

So I finished the rest of the war from March 1944 until April of 1945 as a prisoner of war in Germany. I was liberated in April of

1945 by General Patton's army.

Mr. Arens. Were you a commissioned officer?

Mr. Williams. I was.

Mr. Arens. Tell us some of the other activities in which you have engaged in the course of the last several years?

Mr. Williams. That is a very broad term. Would you try to be

more specific?

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us about some of the public activities in which you have been engaged?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Williams. At this point, I believe that I will refuse to answer the question, and as my basis being the following: the first amendment guarantees the right of free association, freedom of ideas, political ideas. The fifth amendment guarantees that no one shall be required to give evidence against himself——

The Chairman. Wait a minute, "against himself" and read the

rest of it.

Mr. Williams. I was not reading. I was saying——

The Chairman. I will tell you what the Constitution says there. "In any criminal proceeding," and this is not a criminal proceeding. Proceed.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Williams. So I refuse to answer the question for the reasons

given, and because any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. Arens. You honestly feel that if you would tell this committee what you have been doing in the course of the last several years in the way of public activity, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. WILLIAMS. To that question I believe I will give the same

answer.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be directed to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. Williams. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. In 1949, did you, along with some others intercede on behalf of the 12 traitors who were convicted in New York City in Judge Medina's court?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Williams. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. I am a little puzzled with reference to your background again. Did you ever instruct at the University of North Carolina?

Mr. Williams. Yes.

Mr. Arens. I don't believe we have that on this record.

Mr. Williams. It was an oversight.

Mr. Arens. I was under the impression you told us about your high school instructing.

Mr. Williams. I did. That was interrupted by the war, and I did

not finish that.

Mr. Arens. Tell us about the instructing you did at the University

of North Carolina.

Mr. Williams. In 1945 after completing my military service, I entered the graduate school of the University of North Carolina in the department of history. There while a graduate student, I was part-time instructor of social science.

Mr. Arens. How many students came under your tutelage?
Mr. Williams. It is hard to say. I didn't keep my roll books.

Mr. Arens. How many students did you have in an ordinary class during the course of a year?

Mr. Williams. The classes in that particular course at the univer-

sity are fairly large. I would say around 30 in a class.

Mr. Arens. How many classes did you have during the course of a year in which there would be approximately 30 students?

Mr. Williams. I believe it was one, though there might have been

two at some time or another.

Mr. Arens. What would be your best estimate as to the number of students who have received instructions from you in social science or history, or whatever you taught at the University of North Carolina?

Mr. Williams. I couldn't say, really.

Mr. Arens. Would you have instructed as many as 100?

Mr. Williams. I should think more than that.

Mr. Arens. Would you have instructed as many as 500?

Mr. Williams. I doubt it.

Mr. Arens. Would a fair appraisal be approximately 200?

Mr. Williams. I would accept that.

Mr. Arens. How many students in the aggregate have you instructed in the high schools of this State?

Mr. Williams. Probably as many.

Mr. Arens. Another couple of hundred? In the course of your teaching social science, did you mix a little Marxism in with it?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIAMS. As to what I taught, I would regard that as pro-

tected by the guaranties of the first amendment.

The Chairman. In other words, you believe that to teach Marxism is guaranteed to you or anyone else under the first amendment with respect to freedom of speech?

Mr. Williams. Congressman Walter, I will answer the question but

shouldn't I finish answering the previous question first?

The Chairman. All right. I did not know you were answering a

question.

Mr. Williams. Yes. Mr. Arens had asked me a question and I had said that the subject matter taught in classes in schools and colleges is

in my opinion covered by the guaranties of the first amendment. Also under the fifth amendment, I have the right to refuse to answer because the answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Would you repeat your question?

The Chairman. No, I withdraw my question. Proceed, Mr. Arens. Mr. Arens. You have, I take it, great reverence for the Constitution

of the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do. Mr. Arens. Have you ever been a member of an organization dedicated to the destruction of the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. Williams. On that question I will refuse to answer under my

privileges guaranteed by the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Does your reverence for the Constitution cease after you have wrapped yourself in a cloak of immunity behind the fifth amendment?

Mr. Williams. I believe I will answer that in the same way under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Kearney. I understood from your testimony that you have been a teacher in the public schools of North Carolina.

Mr. Williams. That is true. Mr. Kearney. Do you believe that a member of the Communist Party should be allowed to teach the youth of America in our public

Mr. Williams. I am going to refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. Arens. You have told us about your education, where you received your A. B., your M. A., and your Ph. D. degrees. Now tell us about some other instruction you may have been receiving in North

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Williams. I will refuse to answer that question for the same

reason, under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you taken other instruction since you received your Ph. D. degree which you cannot tell us about for fear of giving us facts which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Williams. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you are now one of the top Communist leaders in this State, and that you were in attendance at the leadership training school of the Communist Party held at Walnut Cove, N. C., in August of 1952.

Mr. Williams. You made a statement. Did you mean it as a question?

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir. I ask you to affirm or deny that as a fact.

Mr. Williams. I am going to refuse to answer that question based

on my privileges under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. I lay before you a photograph which has been identified in this record, and ask you whether or not you recognize the physical object which is portrayed in that photograph?

Mr. Williams. The same answer as to the previous question.

Mr. Arens. That photograph, let the record show, Mr. Chairman, has been identified on this record as the photograph of the Binkley

farmhouse where the leadership training school sessions were held in

August of 1952.

Mr. Williams, a gentleman took oath before this committee yesterday and testified among other things that he knew you as a member of the Communist Party. This man's name was Charles Childs. he lying or was he telling the truth?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Williams. Would you repeat the question, Mr. Arens?

Mr. Arens. I prefer to have the reporter read it back so there will be no question about it.

(Question referred to read by the reporter.)

Mr. Williams. I am going to refuse to answer that question. reasons are—I am going to refuse to answer the question, using the privileges guaranteed me under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Do you know or have you known a person by the name

of Charles Childs?

Mr. Williams. I will answer that question in the same way.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee whether or not you know or have known a person by the name of Charles Childs you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Williams. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that last question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question. Mr. Williams. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. You hold a Ph.D. degree in philosophy; is that correct?

Mr. Williams. No; I hold a doctor of philosophy degree in Euro-

pean history.

Mr. Arens. Are you, while you are presently employed in your occupation as a metalworker, also engaged in an activity directed toward the colonizing of workers within the industry in which you are employed?

Mr. Williams. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. In your present employment are you reporting or receiving instructions from an organization which is controlled by a foreign government?

Mr. Williams. I will answer that question in the same way.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee under oath whether or not you are presently receiving instructions in your work, at the plant at which you are employed, from a foreign power you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness consulted his counsel.) Mr. Williams. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. You have relied upon the first amendment in the course of your colloquies with me this morning. Do you honestly apprehend that inquiries as to Communist Party affiliations, associations, and activities is an inquiry as to political belief?

Mr. Williams. I will refuse to answer that question, which I am privileged to do under the rights guaranteed me by the first and fifth

amendments.

Mr. Arens. You know, do you not, that the Communist Party in the United States is not a political party, but a foreign-controlled conspiracy?

Mr. Williams. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. While you were teaching at the University of North Carolina, and at high schools in this State, did you undertake to inculcate in the minds of the students the ideology of communism?

Mr. Williams. I will answer that question in the same way as I

answered the previous question.

Mr. Arens. Were you under Communist Party discipline while you were instructing the students of this State?

Mr. Williams. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Tell us, please, sir, any other names by which you have been known besides the name Warren Williams, which appears on your subpena.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Williams. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. You have used a name, which is not your true name, in certain sessions; have you not?

Mr. Williams. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Williams, when you were inducted into the United States Air Force, did you take an oath of allegiance to the United States?

Mr. Williams. I believe that is standard procedure.

Mr. Arens. Was the essence of the oath you took that you would be loyal to this country and defend it against all enemies, foreign and domestic?

Mr. Williams. I have never done anything disloyal against this

country.

Mr. Arens. Have you belonged to a foreign-controlled conspiracy? Mr. Williams. I am going to refuse to answer that question, using

as a basis my privileges under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. If you haven't done anything disloyal, why don't you stand up like a red-blooded American and say, "No, I have never been a member of a foreign-controlled conspiracy designed to overthrow this Government by force and violence."

Mr. Williams. I will answer that question in the same way that

I did the previous question.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you would deny under oath before this committee that you have been a member of a foreign-controlled conspiracy you would be giving information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Williams. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. Williams. I will still answer in the same way.

Mr. Arens. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you joined the United States Air Force?

Mr. Williams. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. During the course of your activities in the United States Air Force were you under Communist Party discipline?

Mr. Williams. I will answer that question in the same way as the

previous question.

Mr. Arens. During the course of your activities in the United States Air Force, did you procure and transmit confidential or restricted information to a person not authorized by law to receive the same?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Williams. Same answer.

Mr. Kearney. You said that when you were inducted into the service you took the standard oath of allegiance to the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I said that was standard procedure in the services.

I assume I must have taken it.

Mr. Kearney. Don't you know whether you did or not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It has been almost 15 years. I assume I did.

Mr. Kearney. It has been more than that since I have taken mine, and I can still remember. I don't think that any man who ever took the oath for wearing the uniform of his country could ever forget. You were, as I understand it, commissioned later?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Williams. Did you ask a question?

Mr. Kearney. You know I did; didn't you?

Mr. Williams. Could it be repeated?

Mr. Kearney. Were you commissioned later?

Mr. Williams. I was.

Mr. Kearney. What year?

Mr. Williams. 1943.

Mr. Kearney. And when you were commissioned in 1943, did you at that time have to take another oath of allegiance to the United States of America?

Mr. Williams. That is right; we did. Mr. Kearney. You remember that one?

Mr. Williams. That is right.
Mr. Kearney. You said you have done nothing disloyal to the Government of the United States. That is in substance your own words; is that not correct?

Mr. Williams. I believe I said I have never done anything disloyal

to my country.

Mr. Kearney. As the time that you took your oath of allegiance to the United States as an officer in the Air Corps were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Williams. To that question I will give this answer: I refuse to answer the question, using as my basis my privileges under the

first and fifth amendments.

The Charman. Are you a member of the Communist Party this

Mr. Williams. I will answer that question in the same way that ${f I}$ answered the previous question.

The Charman. You are excused. Call your next witness, Mr.

 Λ rens.

Mr. Arens. Viola Brown.

The Charman. Raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss Brown. I do.

TESTIMONY OF VIOLA BROWN; ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND

Mr. Arens. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Miss Brown, Miss Viola Brown, 1210 Wallace Street, Winston-

Salem, N. C.

Mr. Arens. Are you appearing today in response to a subpena served upon you by this committee?

Miss Brown. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Are you represented by counsel?

Miss Brown. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Did you engage counsel to represent you?

Miss Brown. Yes; I did.

Mr. Arens. Will counsel kindly identify themselves?

Miss Laks. Rhoda Laks, 615 Columbus Avenue, New York City.

Mr. Gilliand, Warrenton, N. C.

Mr. Arens. You have just told us that you engaged counsel. When did you first meet counsel?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Miss Brown. I met Mr. Gilliland this morning and Miss Laks Sunday.

Mr. Arexs. How did you happen to meet them? Did you initiate

the conference or did they?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Miss Brown. That is a confidential relation between lawyer and client.

The Chairman. No; it is not. We are not asking you about anything that transpired between you two. We merely want to know how you happen to appear here with the same lawyers who represented all the other witnesses who invoked the amendments to the Constitution.

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

The Chairman. Every one of whom has been identified as a Com-

munist, incidentally.

Miss Brown. As to Miss Laks, I refuse under the first and fifth amendments. For Mr. Gilliland, Miss Laks introduced me this morning.

The Charman. In other words, you invoke the fifth amendment——

Miss Brown. On Miss Laks.

The CHAIRMAN. On Miss Laks?

Miss Brown. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Miss Brown. The same answer.

The Chairman. In other words, you believe if you answered the question asked you about Miss Laks it might subject you to a criminal prosecution; is that correct?

Miss Brown. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, she be ordered and directed to answer that last question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer that question.

Miss Brown. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Where were you born?

Miss Brown. In Catawba County.

Mr. Arens. Of North Carolina?

Miss Brown. Of North Carolina.

Mr. Arens. Where were you educated?

Miss Brown. In the public schools, elementary schools.

Mr. Arens. How far did you get in public schools?

Miss Brown. Elementary schools.

Mr. Arens. When did you graduate from the public schools?

Miss Brown. In the early twenties.

Mr. Arens. Give us, if you please, a chronology of the employments which you have had since graduating from school.

Miss Brown. Domestic worker and for 5 years I worked for a

tobacco company.

Mr. Arens. Where are you presently employed?

(Witness consulted her counsel.) Miss Brown. In Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. Where in Winston-Salem?

Miss Brown. At Winston-Salem Teachers College.

Mr. Arens. What do you do at Winston-Salem Teachers College?

Miss Brown. A domestic worker.

Mr. Arens. Tell us some of the activities of a public nature in which you have engaged during the last few years.

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Kearney. I can't hear the witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. Arens. Would you please keep your voice up? The committee members are having difficulty hearing your answers.

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer under the first and fifth

amendments.

Mr. Arens. Do you mean to say if you tell this committee of the United States Congress of the activities of a public nature in which you have engaged in this State during the last few years, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Miss Brown. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be directed to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

Miss Brown. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Tell us some of the organizations to which you have belonged.

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that question under the privileges

of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Do you belong to any organizations you can tell us about without giving information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Miss Brown. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, she be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Charman. You are directed to answer the questions.

Miss Brown. I refuse under the same basis.

Mr. Arens. I lay before you a photograph which has been identified in this record, and ask you whether or not it refreshes your recollection of any event in your life within the last few years.

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer under the privileges of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Kearney. Mr. Chairman, I suggest before the witness answers the question, she look at the photograph.

Miss Brown. I looked at the photograph.

Mr. Arens. Have you told us all of the education you received? I believe you told us about your education at the elementary school. Tell us about some of the other education you received.

Miss Brown. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Have you been doing a little book reading on your own, a little self-education?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that under the privileges of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you attended any schools other than the elementary school that you told us about?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that on the same basis.

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly look over your right shoulder and see if you recognize that gentleman who is seated against the wall.

(Witness looking.)

Mr. Arens. Do you recognize him?

Miss Brown. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. What do you mean, the same answer?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer under the privileges of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Why?

Miss Brown. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. That man you just looked at a moment ago was here yesterday before this committee and under oath said that you were one of those who attended a Communist Party leadership training school at Walnut Cove, N. C., in August 1952. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that under the privileges of the first

and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been to Walnut Cove?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that on the same basis.

Mr. Arens. Did you ever know a person by the name of Alice Burke? Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that under the privileges of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. She was organizer for the Communist Party for

North Carolina in 1945, wasn't she?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Did you ever know a woman by the name of Anne Elizabeth Mathews?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that on the same basis.

Mr. Arens. How about Velma Hopkins. Did you ever know her? Miss Brown. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Why?

Miss Brown. I have the privilege to refuse to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you been active in the Tri-State Negro Labor Council of this State?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. You would not be ashamed of anything you did for the uplift of society, would you?
Miss Brown. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. The truth is, is it not, that you are active and have been active in the Tri-State Negro Labor Council and in the National Negro Labor Council?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that under the first and fifth amend-

ments.

Mr. Arens. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that on the same basis.

Mr. Arens. Do you know a man by the name of Nathaniel Bond who testified here yesterday?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer on the privilege of the first and fifth

Mr. Arens. Have you been active in any organizations with Nathaniel Bond?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. Arens. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that on the basis and privilege of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Did you talk to your employers at Winston-Salem Teachers College when you receive your subpena?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Miss Brown. I just asked for the day off.

Mr. Arens. Whom did you ask to give you the day off?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. Arens. You know that could not incriminate you at all. Tellus whom you asked for the day off.

(Witness consulted her counsel.

Miss Brown. I sent word by my sister. I don't know the superior she told.

Mr. Arens. You just asked for the day off. Did you tell them why you wanted the day off?

Miss Brown. No.

Mr. Arens. Do your employers know where you are today?

Miss Brown. I don't know.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever talked to them about why you might be coming to Charlotte?

Miss Brown. No.

Mr. Arens. Do you propose to talk to them some more when you get back?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Miss Brown. I don't know what I will do when I get back.

Mr. Arens. In July of 1947, Anne Elizabeth Mathews identified you in testimony before this committee as a person known by her to have been a member of the Communist Party. Did your employers at the Winston-Salem Teachers College ever talk to you about that?

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer under the basis of the first and

fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that last question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

Miss Brown. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that in the recent past you have been identified as an active member and agitator of the Tri-State Negro Labor Council, and the National Negro Labor Council.

Miss Brown. I refuse to answer that on the basis of the fifth

amendment.

Mr. Kearner. The reason I asked you to look at the photograph counsel placed before you a while ago before answering so quickly, was for the reason that it might have been a picture of your own home.

Miss Brown. I looked at it.

Mr. Kearney. After you answered.

Miss Brown. I looked at it.

The Chairman. The witness is excused.

Call your next witness.

Mr. Arens. Mr. William A. McGirt, Jr., please come forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand, please. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McGirt. I do, so help me God.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM ARCHIBALD McGIRT, JR., ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND

Mr. Arens. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and

position.

Mr. McGirt. My name is William Archibald McGirt, Jr., I live at 500 West Seventh Street, Winston-Salem, N. C. I am a fish dresser in the city market in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. Are you appearing today in response to a subpena served

upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. McGirr. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. McGirt. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Will counsel kindly identify themselves?

Miss Laks. Rhoda Laks, 615 Columbus Avenue, New York City.

Mr. Gilliand, North Carolina bar, of Warrenton, N. C.

Mr. Arens. You engaged these counsel?

Mr. McGirt. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. When did you first become acquainted with your lady counsel, Miss Laks?

Mr. McGirt. A couple of years ago.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us the nature of that acquaintanceship? Mr. McGirt. I was introduced to her at a social engagement.

Mr. Arens. Where was that social engagement?

Mr. McGirt. In New York.

Mr. Arens. Under whose auspices was that social engagement held?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. As a matter of fact, that social engagement was held under the auspices of the Communist Party; wasn't it?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you think it is odd that the Communist Party would hold a session at which you and the lady counsel would meet each other socially?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee the truth as to whether or not the social function at which you first met Miss Laks was under the auspices of the Communist Party, you would be supplying information which would be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell this committee whether or not you ascertained at this social function that your counsel was a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. I take it that you just met your gentleman counsel in the last few days; is that correct?

Mr. McGirt. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. At whose solicitation did you meet your gentleman counsel?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Arens. Did he approach you or did you approach him? Mr. McGirt. My attorney, Miss Laks, introduced me to him. Mr. Arens. She initiated the consultation; is that correct?

Mr. McGirt. She introduced me to him.

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly give us a brief résumé of your educational background? First of all, where and when were you born?

Mr. McGirt. I was born in Wilmington, N. C., on May 4, 1923.

Mr. Arens. And where did you go to school, please, sir?
Mr. McGirt. At the age of 6 I entered Forrest Hills Elementary School in Wilmington, N. C. After elementary school, I went to New Hanover High School and graduated there in 1939. The same year I entered Duke University and was graduated from there with an A. B. degree in 1943.

Mr. Arens. Does that complete your formal education?

Mr. McGirt. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. I beg your pardon?

Mr. McGirt. I almost forgot it myself. I had a couple of months in graduate school but decided not to continue.

Mr. Arens. Was that at Duke?

Mr. McGirt. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any other education or attend classes of any consequences.

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my privileges

under the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. You told us about attending Duke University and your studies there. Why can't you tell us about some of your other studies?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. You are not ashamed of it?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Do you feel that if you told this committee truthfully what other classes you attended, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Would you look over your shoulder to the right and see if you recognize that gentleman wearing the eyeglasses?

(Witness looking.)

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that under my privileges under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. That gentleman, Mr. Childs, testified yesterday that you were in attendance at a Communist Party leadership training school held at Walnut Cove in August 1952. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been to Walnut Cove?

Mr. McGirt. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Let us have, if you please, sir, the chronology of your

employments.

Mr. McGirt. I worked for my dad a little when I was a kid, off and on, during high-school years. After I was graduated from school, I worked for the North Carolina Shipbuilding Co.

Mr. Arens. Where was that?

Mr. McGirt. In Wilmington, New Hanover County. I don't know whether it was in the city limits or not. After that I worked as a gate-keeper at Chimney Rock, N. C. I worked at the library.

Mr. Arens. The library at the University of North Carolina?

Mr. McGirt. The library and cafeteria of the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Arens. When did you work in the library at the University of North Carolina?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I will have to guess.

Mr. Arens. Just your best recollection.

Mr. McGirt. It was in late 1947 or early 1948 as well as I can remember.

Mr. Arens. What were your duties at the library?

Mr. McGirt. Mostly shelve books and also sometimes to wait on the patrons that came in.

Mr. Arens. Proceed with your employment, sir.

Mr. McGirt. After that—

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I worked in a meat market in Winston-Salem for a year and a half and in the fish market where I am presently employed. Any that I have omitted I decline to answer under my privilege under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Is there some employment that you have had concerning which you cannot tell us for fear of supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my privilege

under the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I don't know whether the witness understands the question. Let me repeat it.

Is there any employment you have had which you cannot tell us about for fear if you do you would be supplying information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest that he be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under the privileges of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact of the matter is that you are the head of

the Carolina district of the Communist Party, aren't you?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my privilege under the first and fifth amendments.

The Charman. You prepared this circular concerning this committee of the Congress of the United States, did you not?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. When you were served with a subpena to appear before this committee, did you issue a statement to the press?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my privilege under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness

be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer that question. In that connection, I would like to say that nothing you or your lawyers say after you leave this hearing room will in any way affect the sworn testimony adduced at this hearing.

Mr. McGirt. I didn't understand that last part, sir.

The Chairman. It is all right whether you understand it or not. Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. Did you issue a statement to the press which included the following:

In the last several years I have known Communists and others who were not too afraid or too hysterical to work with Communists on specific issues. When I think an issue is right, I don't examine who is right but what is right and work with whomever I can. It is my humble opinion, by the way, that the Communists I have known will in the main stand up well in comparison with any other group of Americans in courage, in love of fellow man, and in devotion to the real needs of the American people.

Did you issue such a statement to the public press?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my privilege of the first amendment.

Mr. Arens. You are not ashamed of what you issued to the public press; are you?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. You were not under oath when you issued this statement to the public press; were you?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Do you presently have the same attitude toward Communists and their courage that you had on March 3 when you issued this statement to the public press?

Mr. McGirt. Same answer.

Mr. Kearney. Counsel, does the portion of that statement about courage, contain the words "love of country"?

Mr. Arens. I do not see it, Congressman. We might ask the witness. Did you supplement this statement at the time you issued it to the public press by any proclamation respecting your patriotism or the patriotism of the Communists?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. Arens. When you are released from this subpena, released from the pains and penalties of perjury, do you propose to step out in the hall and issue some other statement to the effect that, "Of course I am not a Communist, but I wouldn't tell that witch-hunting committee that I am not a Communist"?

Mr. McGirt. You did not let me finish the other question.

Mr. Arens. Go ahead.

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer the question under the first and

fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. When released from your subpena, tell us what you propose to do about telling the public press and the people of this State about your courage and patriotism.

Mr. McGirt. Same answer.

The Chairman. I do not think it is so material, but I do think that when counsel resorts to the same sort of thing, it is not within the code of ethics that we know in the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, you are, of course, referring to counsel

for the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. Kearney. Mr. Counsel, in other words, that statement issued to the press was not given under oath.

Mr. Arens. No, sir. And he will not even admit issuing it.

Mr. Kearney. The witness' answers to all the questions asked here, if you can call them answers, are under oath.

Mr. Arens. Did you under date of November 28, 1955, send a letter

to the editor of the Greensboro Daily News?

Mr. McGirt. Are you through with the question?

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir.

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my right under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. I lay before you an original clipping from the Greensboro Daily News of November 28, 1955, and ask you to summon all the courage that you spoke about in your press release a day or so ago, and see if you can identify that article as an article prepared by you and submitted to the editor of this paper.

(Witness consulted with his counsel and looks at clipping.)

Mr. McGrat. What was the question, sir?

Mr. Arens. Summon all this courage that you talked about in your news release and tell this committee whether or not you sent this letter, which I have just displayed to you, to the editor of the Greensboro Daily News.

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my rights un-

der the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. You are not ashamed of what you sent to this editor, are you?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. You have not lost courage, have you?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. In your letter to the editor of the Greensboro Daily News, the following appears:

I do not believe that public airing of any and all viewpoints can possibly hurt the truth or endanger our democracy.

Did you submit that letter to the editor of the Greensboro Daily News?

(Witness consulted his counsel.) Mr. McGirt. Same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever read this before?

Mr. McGirt. I just read it.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever read it before today?

Mr. McGirt. Same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly feel in your own heart at this moment that the public airing of any and all viewpoints can possibly hurt the truth or endanger our democracy?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I believe in the Constitution of the United States and

everything it says without apology.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been a member of an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Government of the United States and the destruction of the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question on the ground of

the fifth amendment.

Mr. Kearney. But you do believe in the Constitution of the United States according to your previous answers.

Mr. McGirt. I certainly do.

Mr. Kearney. As of this moment.

Mr. McGirt. I have always believed this.

Mr. Arens. I would like to lay before you certain documents. See if you can help this committee as one who believes there ought to be

an airing of the truth. Let us see if we can air a little truth.

Here is a photostatic copy, Mr. McGirt, of the Daily Worker of Monday, July 10, 1950, page 9, which deals with support of a statement of the National Labor Conference for Peace urging the withdrawal of United States troops from Korea. It lists the names of some of its supporters who were officials of certain organizations and the name of a W. A. McGirt, Jr., is among those mentioned. I lay that article before you now and see if it prompts your recollection to reveal the truth courageously, as you have stated in your press release, to the people of this State and to this committee.

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question, sir, under my

privilege under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you lost your courage?

Mr. McGirt. Same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that there be incorporated by reference in the record, for retention in the files of the committee, the article I have just shown the witness; and that there be incorporated in the record the citation of the organization, the National Labor Conference for Peace, by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

(The citation follows:)

NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE FOR PEACE (SUITE 905, 179 WEST WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.)

1. Cited as having been organized with the aid of Communist-controlled unions and Communist labor figures with "the official stamp of the Communist Party," as evidenced by articles in the Daily Worker and the Daily Peoples' World.

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report No. 378, on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951,

original date, April 1, 1951, p. 64.)

I lay before you another document and ask you to summon all this courage you were talking about and all this frankness and candor that This is a photostatic copy of a document you want to air publicly. of the Congress on American-Soviet Relations, sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. It has a list of endorsers of this enterprise, including a W. A. McGirt, Jr., of Winston-Salem, N. C. Does that document refresh your recollection so that you can make a greater revelation of facts to this committee and the people of this community in which you live?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question, sir, under my right of the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution of the United

States.

Mr. Arens. You haven't lost your courage?

Mr. McGirt. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend if you tell this committee the truth whether or not that name, W. A. McGirt, Jr., is yours, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest that the above-referred-to document be incorporated by reference in this record for retention in the files of the committee, and that the citation by the special Committee on Un-American Activities and a citation by the then Attorney General in 1947-48 of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as a Communist organization be incorporated in the record.

(The citations follow:)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(Attorney Generat Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released

December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)

2. "In recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian has been known as the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944,

Mr. McGirt. You might let me answer my question.

Mr. Arens. You go ahead. Perhaps you can give us a better explanation.

Mr. McGirt. You keep interrupting me before I finish.

Mr. Arens. I am very sorry because I do not want to interrupt anything you might want to say that would be in the courageous patriotic nature which you proclaimed to the press when served with your subpena. We would be very glad to hear you proceed along that line

(No response.)

Mr. Arens. I'lay before you, Mr. Witness, photostatic copy of a document, Let the Youth Speak for Peace. It is young people's festival and field day under the American Peoples Congress and Exposition for Peace, held in Chicago, June 29, 30, and July 1, 1951, sponsored by the American Peace Crusade. Listed here are the youth sponsors, including a person identified as W. A. McGirt, Jr., of Winston-Salem, N. C.

Does this document refresh your recollection sufficiently to clear your mind and thus enable you to courageously portray the facts to

the people of this community and to this committee?

(Looking at document.)

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my right under the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Arens. Do you know William A McGirt, Jr., of Winston-Salem, N. C.? We ought to be in contact with W. A. McGirt, Jr., of Winston-Salem, N. C. Do you know of any other W. A. McGirt?

Mr. McGirt. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest that the above-referred-to document be incorporated by reference in this record for retention in the committee files, and the citation by the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the American Peace Crusade as an established Communist organization be incorporated in this record.

(The citation follows:)

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE (ORGANIZED IN JANUARY 1951, WITH NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS AT 1186 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 1, N. Y.)

1. Cited as an organization which "the Communists established" as "a new instrument for their 'peace' offensive in the United States" and which was heralded by the Daily Worker "with the usual bold headlines reserved for projects in line with the Communist objectives."

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, statement issued on the March of Treason, February 19, 1951, and House Report No. 378, on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951,

original date, April 1, 1951, p. 51.)

The Charman. I thought the Attorney General also cited it.

Mr. Arens. It was cited by the Attorney General in 1954.

Mr. Witness, I lay before you a photostatic copy of a document entitled, "Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact," listing the names of persons in this organization who were proponents of a peaceful alternative to the Atlantic Pact. It includes a person by the name of W. A. McGirst, Jr., Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, CIO, Local 22, Winston-Salem. I ask if your observation of that document in any way refreshes your recollection and prompts your courage to make a revelation of the facts to this committee, and to the people of this community.

Mr. McGurt. Concerning my courage, sir, I have never run away

from anything in my life.

Mr. Arens. Why don't you stand up and tell this committee whether you are now a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under the first and

fifth amendments.

The Chairman. It looks to me like you are running very fast from something this morning.

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my right of the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

The Chairman. In other words, you are courageously hiding behind the fifth amendment.

Mr. McGrr. Is there anything wrong with using the Constitution of the United States, or do we abide by that still in this country?

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly tell us whether or not you have ever been identified with the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, CIO, Local 22, of Winston-Salem?

Mr. McGirr. I decline to answer that question, sir, under my right

of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. McGirt. The same answer.

The Chairman. Did you specify a date, Mr. Arens?

Mr. Arens. I merely asked him if he has ever been identified with that union, Mr. Chairman. May I respectfully suggest that the last document I displayed to the witness on the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact be incorporated by reference in this record and retained in the files of the committee, and that the citation of that committee as a Communist controlled organization be incorporated into this record?

(The citation follows:)

COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE ATLANTIC PACT

1. Cited as an organization which was formed as a result of the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, and which was located, according to a letterhead of September 16, 1950, at 30 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 2, Ill.; and to further the cause of "Communists in the United States" doing "their part in the Moscow campaign."

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report No. 378, on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, original

date April 1, 1951, p. 54.)

Have you ever been known by any name other than the name which appears on your subpens, William A. McGirt. Jr.?

Mr. McGurt. I decline to answer that, sir, under my right under

the fifth amendment.

Mr. Kearney. I would like to make the observation, Mr. Counsel, that that is a very courageous answer.

Mr. Arens. Do you know, or have you known a person by the name

of Junius Scales!

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my right of the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

The Charman. We will take a 5 minute recess at this point.

(Present at the taking of the recess were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearney.)

(Short recess.)

(Present after the recess were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearney.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

A moment ago, Mr. Arens, the witness was asked about the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact. During this short recess I had an opportunity to examine its membership, and it seems to me that this presents a typical and striking example of how well-meaning people are imposed upon. This page of the States involved contains only the States of North Carolina and Ohio, but on that committee for North Carolina there are five clergymen, one college professor, and the present witness. For Ohio, the next State, alphabetically, it contains the names of 30 people, 27 clergymen, 3 college professors, and Hugh De Lacy, a well-known card-carrying Communist. This, I think, is something that the American people should understand, and the unwary ought not to become members of ary type of organization about which they are not thoroughly informed. I am going to ask you whether or not you know Miss Jule T. Bouchard.

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my right

of the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution.

The Charman. Miss Bouchard, secretary of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives. Is that the person you will not admit knowing for fear your answer might subject you to a criminal prosecution?

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I am sure you did not mean by your comments to imply that this particular witness was imposed on or was unwary when he participated in the activities of this Committee for Peaceful Alternatives.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Witness, would you kindly give us the street address where you now reside?

Mr. McGirt. 500 West 7th Street.

Mr. Arens. And your mailing address?

(Witness consulted his counsel.) Mr. McGirt. Post Office Box 135.

Mr. Arens. Post Office Box 135, Winston-Salemen, N. C.?

Mr. McGirt. Yes. sir.

Mr. Arens. Could you tell us whether or not that is also the mailing address for any other person, organization, group, or association?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my right under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Tell this committee what a "mail drop" is.

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I don't think I know, sir, unless it is a place where

you mail letters. Is that what you mean?

Mr. Arens. See if this refreshes your recollection. A "mail drop" is a place to which secret documents are transmitted for an organization that wants to use a blind. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my right

under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever used Post Office Box No. 2884 at Winston-Salem, N. C.?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question, sir, under my right under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. That was the mail drop of the Communist Party in one

section of this State; isn't that true?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. I think we ought to clear this record, Mr. McGirt, with respect to the period in your life which is shrouded in darkness, this period which is behind the veil of secrecy. Over what period of time were you employed in a capacity about which you cannot tell us?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)
Mr. McGirt. As to the rest of my employment, sir, and the time related to it, I decline to answer that question under the first and fifth

amendments.

Mr. Arens. We will try it the hard way. Where were you employed in 1945?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I think part of that year I was employed at Chimney Rock. I don't remember all of it.

Rock. I don't remember all of it.

Mr. Arens. Was it the first part of the year or the latter part of the year?

Mr. McGirt. Let me finish my answer, please, sir.

Mr. Arens. I beg your pardon.

Mr. McGirt. Part of the time I was unemployed that year, and the other part—I think that is the year I worked one season at Chimney Rock.

Mr. Arens. Let us try 1946. Where were you employed in 1946? (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. 1946?

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir.

Mr. McGirt. I think that winter, the early part, I was unemployed. My mother was ill. I was helping to nurse her. I think that summer I worked at Chimney Rock again.

Mr. Arens. Was there any employment during 1946 which you

cannot tell us about?

Mr. McGirt. I don't remember, sir.

Mr. Arens. Let us try 1947. Is there any employment in 1947 that you cannot tell us about?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I had several jobs. I was unemployed part of the time, too. I think it was then that I worked in the cafeteria—I believe they called it the Pine Room—at the university. I think it was that same year I started working for the library there.

Mr. Arens. Is there any employment in 1947 that you cannot tell us

about?

Mr. McGirt. Not that I remember, sir.

Mr. Arens. You can save time by telling us what year or what years it was that you cannot tell us about your employment.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. Was that a question, sir?

Mr. Arens. I am just suggesting it to you. We will try 1948. Was there any employment in 1948 you cannot tell us about?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my right under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Where were you employed in January 1948?

(Witness consulted his counsel.) Mr. McGirt. In January 1948?

Mr. Arens. Yes. Where were you employed then?

Mr. McGirt. I believe I was working at the university library at North Carolina.

Mr. Arens. Tell us when it was during 1948 that you began employ-

ment about which you cannot tell us? (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under——

Mr. Arens. We will try March 1948. Where were you employed in March 1948?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. You keep interrupting me, sir.

Mr. Arens. I apologize, sir. I didn't mean to interrupt you. I mean to be courteous to you. Where were you employed in March 1948? (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I was still at the university, sir.

Mr. Arens. I beg your pardon.

Mr. McGirt. In March? Mr. Arens. In March 1948.

Mr. McGirt. I think I was still working at the university library. I am fuzzy about these dates because I don't keep a chart of these dates.

The Chairman. To the best of your recollection. Mr. McGirt. I am giving you my best recollection.

Mr. Arens. Let us try June 1948; where were you employed then?
Mr. McGer. I decline to answer that question under my right un-

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under my right under the first and fifth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. Arens. When in 1948 did you leave your employment at the University of North Carolina?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGurr. I think it was sometime in the spring of that year.

Mr. Arens. Then what was your next employment?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question, sir, under my right under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. Arens. How long was your next employment?

Mr. McGirt. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness

be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Charman. The question is how long, not what it was. How long were you employed in the next employment. I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. McGirt. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Was the next employment full-time employment?

Mr. McGirt. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Do you presently have any employment other than your employment at the fish market?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you have employment in addition to your employment at the fish market?

Mr. McGirt. That is the same question and the same answer.

Mr. Arens. Tell us your employment in January of 1950.

Mr. McGirt. That is when I started working at the meat market, I think.

Mr. Arens. How about January 1949?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question, sir, under my right under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. How about December 1949?

Mr. McGirt. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Then was it from the spring of 1948 through December of 1949 that you were engaged in this employment which is shrouded in secrecy?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Pertaining to which you courageously will not tell us?

Mr. McGirt. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been in the United States Army?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. McGirt. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been in the military at all?

Mr. McGirt. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. Were you ever subject to the draft?

Mr. McGirt. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. What transpired? How did it happen that you were not drafted?

Mr. McGirt. I got a statement from them saying that I didn't pass

the physical requirements.

Mr. Arens. Have you been an advocate of withdrawing the United States troops from Korea during the Korean conflict?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question, sir, under the fifth

amendment.

Mr. Arens. Where was your conrage and patriotism when you joined with others urging the withdrawal of the United States troops from Korea while they were engaged in mortal combat with the North Korean Communists?

Mr. McGirt. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, we have covered the ground with this witness.

The Chairman. Are there any questions?

Mr. Kearney. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question, sir, under my right of the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. Kearney. In other words, you are the type of individual who believes in the courageous airing of the truth but not while under oath, is that so?

Mr. McGirt. Is that a question, sir?

Mr. Kearney. Yes; is that so?

Mr. McGirt. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

The Charman. Call your next witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Eugene Feldman. Miss Laks. Is this witness excused?

The CHAIRMAN. This witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. Arens. Mr. Feldman, will you kindly come forward?

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give us will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Feldman. So help me God.

TESTIMONY OF EUGENE FELDMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND

Mr. Arens. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence and occu-

pation.

Mr. Feldman. My name is Eugene Feldman. My residence is 33 West End Boulevard, Winston-Salem. My occupation is sales clerk in a meat market.

Mr. Arens. Are you appearing today in response to a subpena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activi-

ties?

Mr. Feldman. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. Feldman. I am.

Mr. Arens. And will counsel kindly identify themselves for the record?

Miss Laks. Rhoda Laks, 615 Columbus Avenue, New York City.

Mr. GILLILAND. James D. Gilliland, Warrenton, N. C.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Feldman, have you ever met socially, the lady counsel who represents you?

(Witness consulted his counsel.) Mr. Feldman. No, sir, I have not.

Mr. Arens. When did you first meet Miss Laks?

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I met her Sunday, sir.

Mr. Arens. Was the meeting at your solicitation or hers?

(Witness consults his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I personally retained Miss Laks.

Mr. Arens. How did you know there was such a person?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I am ready to answer your question, sir.

Mr. Arens. Kindly do so.

Mr. Feldman. She was introduced to me by a friend.

Mr. Arens. Who was the friend who introduced you to her?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer under the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. Why?

Mr. Feldman. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee who introduced you to your lady counsel, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Feldman. Same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did I understand you to say it was a friend who introduced you?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. That is right. That is what I said.

Mr. Arens. You are not ashamed of that friend, are you?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Please tell this committee a little about your past life. Where and when were you born?

Mr. Feldman. I was born, sir, in Sheboygan, Wis., Sheboygan

County. The date, sir, was September 14, 1914.

Mr. Arens. Give us, please, a brief résumé of your educational back-

ground?

Mr. Feldman. I attended first grade in a community known as Greenleaf, Wis. I attended the rest of my elementary education in a city called Manitowoc, Wis. I attended and graduated from the Manitowoc Lincoln High School. I am a graduate of the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Arens. Kindly give us the date you graduated from the Uni-

versity of Wisconsin.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. As best as I recall, sir, January 1949.

Mr. Arens. What degree did you receive?

Mr. Feldman. Bachelor of arts.

Mr. Arens. Did that complete your formal education?

Mr. Feldman. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Have you received any other educational training since then?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer under the first and fifth amend-

ments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. Arens. Would you tell us why you decline to relate any further pursuit of knowledge in which you engaged since completion of your formal education at the University of Wisconsin?

Mr. Feldman. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Please give us a résumé in comparable fashion of the employment in which you have engaged since completion of your formal education at the University of Wisconsin in 1949.

(Witness consulted with his counsel.)

The Chairman. May I ask you, Mr. Feldman, why it is you have to have a person whom you have only known for about 48 hours, tell you where you have been working the last 10 years?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that, sir.

Mr. Arens. Now, please tell us where you got your first job after you graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1949.

Mr. Feldman. I believe the question that you asked previously

went unanswered, sir.

Mr. Arens. Answer this one. Where did you first work after you completed your education in 1949, at the University of Wisconsin?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that under the first and fifth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. Arens. Tell us about your second job.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. According to my best recollection, sir, my work began in August 1950, with the firm known as the Coast to Coast Realty Co. in Greensboro.

Mr. Arens. That was your second job?

Mr. Feldman. As far as my best recollection goes.

Mr. Arens. The first job is the one you are not going to tell us about, is that correct?

Mr. Feldman. I already have answered that question, sir.

Mr. Arens. Answer it again.

Mr. Feldman. I decline.

Mr. Arens. We are not playing a game here. We want to know whether or not you can tell us about your first job or whether or not to do so would supply information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding.

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that under the first and fifth

amendments.

Mr. Arens. Your second job began in August 1950. Let us have the name of the establishment again, please, sir.

Mr. Feldman. Coast to Coast Realty Co., Greensboro, N. C.

Mr. Arens. How did you happen to come down to Greensboro, N. C., for that job?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I was looking for employment and that is where ${f I}$ got employment.

Mr. Arens. That is not a completely truthful answer and you know

Tell us how you happened to be down in North Carolina.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I repeat, sir, that was the place where I was looking for work. I looked for work.

Mr. Arens. How did you happen to be down in the Southland looking for work when you graduated from the University of Wisconsin?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer under the first and fifth amend-

ments.

Mr. Arens. The truth is that you were in the Southland engaged in Communist Party organizational and publicity activities, is that not a fact?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer under the first and fifth amend-

ments, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you know a man by the name of Oliver Kenneth

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Kenneth Goff identified you as a person known by him to be a member of the Communist conspiracy. Was he lying or telling the truth?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. How long were you in the employ of the Coast to Coast Realty Co. ?

Mr. Feldman. A few months, sir.

Mr. Arens. Beginning in August 1950? Mr. Feldman. Yes, sir; to the best of my recollection.

Mr. Arens. Does that title, Coast to Coast, connote that the employees were to go coast to coast in pursuit of their work?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I don't know what the title means, sir.

Mr. Arexs. What did you do for the Coast to Coast Realty Co.?

Mr. Feldman. I typed, sir. I was a typist.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any other employment while you were with the Coast to Coast Realty Co.?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any other income beside the income

from the Coast to Coast Realty Co.?

Mr. Feldman. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Let us pick up your employment from there. You were with the Coast to Coast Realty Co. doing some typing for a few months. What was your next employment?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I worked for the American Insurance Co. as a mail clerk, sir.

Mr. Arens. When did that employment begin?

Mr. Feldman. To the best of my knowledge, sir, that began in February 1951.

Mr. Arens. You worked as a mail clerk?

Mr. Feldman. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any other employment while you were a mail clerk in February 1951!

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that under the first and fifth

amendments.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any other income?

(Witness consulted his counsel.) Mr. Feldman. Same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. How long did you work as a mail clerk!

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. Several months sir, to the best of my recollection.

Mr. Arens. Let us proceed to your next employment, please.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. To the best of my recollection I worked for a firm in Winston-Salem known as Butler Enterprises.

Mr. Arens. When did that begin? Was that still within 1951? Mr. Feldman. It may have been, sir. I don't remember exactly.

Mr. Arens. What was Butler Enterprises?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. It is a firm that deals with furniture and hotel and motel supplies.

Mr. Arens. What did you do at Butler Enterprises?

Mr. Feldman. I was a secretary, sir.

Mr. Arens. What other employment did you have while you were employed at Butler Enterprises?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any income other than the income derived from your employment at Butler Enterprises?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Please continue in the chronology of your employment. What was your next job?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I was a stock clerk at Kress Co., in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. When did that employment begin?

Mr. Feldman. To the best of my recollection it began in the spring of 1953.

Mr. Arens. Were you employed at Butler Enterprises until the spring of 1953?

Mr. Feldman. To the best of my recollection, I was.

Mr. Arens. What was your particular job at the Kress Co.?

Mr. Feldman. I was stock clerk there, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any other employment while you were the stock clerk there in 1953?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that on the basis of the first and

fifth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Arens. How long did you have this employment? The stock clerk employment, not the employment you can't tell us about.

Mr. Feldman. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Perhaps you misunderstood me. How long did you have the last employment you mentioned as a stock clerk, the aboveground activity, is what I am asking about now.

Mr. Feldman. I was employed as a stock clerk for several months,

sir.

Mr. Arens. In 1953?

Mr. Feldman. To the best of my knowledge; yes.

Mr. Arens. What was your next job, where and when?

Mr. Feldman. I worked for a firm known as Better Homes Furniture Co. in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. When did that employment begin?

Mr. Feldman. In the summer of 1953.

Mr. Arens. During that time did you have any other employment?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. What was your next employment?

Mr. Feldman. I worked for Winston Jewelry & Loan Co., in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. And when did that employment commence?

Mr. Feldman. To the best of my knowledge, it began in the fall of 1953.

Mr. Arens. During the period of time you were employed by this jewelry and loan company in Winston-Salem did you have any other employment?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth

amendments.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any other income?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. How long did your employment last at the jewelry and loan company?

Mr. Feldman. Until the spring of last year, sir.

Mr. Arens. Until the spring of 1955. Then pick it up there, please, sir, and tell us your other employment.

Mr. Feldman. I worked for the Purity Market in Winston-Salem

as a salesclerk.

Mr. Arens. During the time you were employed at the Purity Market did you have other employment?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. How long were you employed at the Purity Market?

Mr. Feldman. I am still employed there.

 ${f Mr.\,Aren}$ s. Do you presently have any other employment?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Were these various employments over the period of the last few years which you have recounted to this committee procured or secured by you at the direction of any person known by you to be a member of the Communist conspiracy?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. These employments, I put it to you as a fact, have only been "cover" employments for your Communist Party activities. Am I misrepresenting the fact or am I telling the truth when I allege that?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. What has been your activity in Tennessee! Have you been over there?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that on the basis of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. When was the last time you were outside of this State of North Carolina!

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. FELDMAN. In the last part of June I made a trip to Atlanta, Ga., to visit my mother and my sister.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us about any other trips you made outside of this State in the last couple of years?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

The Charman. Just a minute. With what crime do you think you might be charged for testifying as to the trips you made outside of North Carolina?

Mr. Feldman. I give you the same answer, sir.

The Charman. I am wondering if counsel has read the rules of this committee. I call your attention to rule 7 (b):

The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights.

No witness has a legal right to be in contempt of this committee and the witness is in contempt of this committee when he refuses to answer a question as to leaving this State. Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. Have you been an author in the course of your career!

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. I do not mean writing letters to your mother. I mean have you been the author of any publications.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Arens. I merely want to be sure you understand the question.

Mr. Feldman. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you have been a contributor to the Communist New Masses.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. You are not ashamed of your journalistic attainments,

are you?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you are also a contributor to the Communist Daily Peoples World.

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that on the basis of the first

and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you have likewise been a contributor of a series of articles to the Communist Daily Worker.

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that on the basis of the first and

fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. What is the Communist Daily Worker.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I offer the same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever used any name other than the name pursuant to which you are appearing today—Eugene Feldman?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact; that in Memphis, Tenn., you were director of agitation and propaganda for the Communist Party in 1950.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. First I decline to answer based on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. You held the same position in Alabama for a while,

did you not!

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Arens. You were identified with the Young Farmer-Labor

League at Manitowoc, Wis., were you not?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth

amendments.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, the Young Farmer-Labor League as far as I know—I believe the investigator can confirm it—has not been cited.

The Chairman. Furthermore, it must have been so far back that the statute of limitations has long since run on it. So with what crime would you be charged if you answered that question?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

The Chairman. We will adjourn at this time to meet at 2 o'clock, and that will give you plenty of time.

(Present at the time of taking the recess were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearney.)

(Thereupon at 12 noon, Tuesday, March 13, 1956, a recess was taken

until 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION-TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1956

(Present at the afternoon session were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearney.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I believe at the conclusion of the morning session we had a question outstanding with reference to the witness' identification with the Young Farmer-Labor League, in Wisconsin, and the witness, I believe, over the lunch hour, was going to meditate over that and see if he could answer it for us.

TESTIMONY OF EUGENE FELDMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND-Resumed

Mr. Feldman. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. Arens. The question is, Have you ever been identified with the Young Farmer-Labor League, of Wisconsin.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. Sir, I am the best judge as to what this question means and calls for, and I invoke the first amendment and the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee whether or not you have ever been identified with the Young Farmer-Labor League, in Wisconsin, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I give the same answer.
Mr. Arens. Would you kindly look over your right shoulder and see if you recognize the gentleman seated against the wall who is wearing eve glasses?

(Witness looking.)

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to answer the question, sir. My refusal is

based on the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. That man is Mr. Charles Childs, who testified before this committee yesterday to the effect that while he was a member of the Communist Party, supplying information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he knew you as a comrade in the Communist Party and that you had been assigned to engage in youth and church activities in North Carolina at the behest of the Communist conspiracy. Was Mr. Childs lying or was he telling the truth?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer. My declination is based on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Tell us about your church activities in the course of the

last several years in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to answer your question. My refusal is based on the first amendment which grants Americans liberty of religion, and the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Surely you are not ashamed to tell a committee of the Congress, which is seeking to develop security information to protect the welfare of this Nation, whether or not you have been engaged in church activities; are you?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. Sir, my answer is this: Under the first amendment to the Constitution no one has the right to inquire concerning my religious activities. I base my refusal therefore on the first amendment and the fifth.

The Charman. Let us get this straight. Do I understand you to mean that if you discussed activities in a church, you might be subject to criminal prosecution?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Let us not talk then about religious activities, to use your terminology. Let us talk about activities of yours in churches or in religious groups, not religious activities.

Mr. Feldman. I feel that that question violates my freedom of religion, and I decline to answer it on the basis of the first amendment, which grants me freedom of religion, and the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Have you been active in the churches in North Carolina? Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee of the Congress the truth respecting your activities, if any, in churches in this community, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal porceeding?

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer and my refusal is based on the

first amendment and the fifth.

Mr. Arens. Were you present when Mr. Charles Childs was initiated in the Communist Party?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. You helped induct him in the Communist Party; did you not!

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I offer the same answer.

Mr. Arens. You did not know when you inducted him into the Communist Party that you were inducting into the Communist Party an FBI agent; did you!

Mr. Feldman. I offer the same answer.

Mr. Arens. To that extent the committee is in your debt for induct-

ing into the Communist Party an FBI agent.

Can you tell us about nonsensitive organizations with which you may be or have been affiliated in this State and, by nonsensitive organizations, I mean organizations which are not Communist or Communist dominated or controlled.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. Would you be more specific.

Mr. Arens. Tell us the organizations of any kind, character, or description that you have been affiliated with which are not Communist, not Communist fronts, not penetrated by Communists with perhaps the exception of yourself?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I decline to answer that and my refusal is based on the first amendment and the fifth.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. My answer is this. I don't know what the counsel has in mind in regard to what are or are not Communists organizations. Therefore, I invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you been a member of any organizations which,

to your knowledge, were not Communist controlled or dominated!

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to answer that question, and my refusal is based on the first amendment and the fifth.

Mr. Arens. The truth is, is it not, that you have been under instructions from the Communist conspiracy to penetrate non-Communist organizations?

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to answer that, and my refusal is based on the first amendment to the Constitution and the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Tell us to what labor organizations you have belonged?

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to answer your question, and my refusal is based on the first amendment to the Constitution and the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you gave a truthful answer to that question while you are under oath to this committee you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding!

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I give the same answer.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness

be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question. Before you answer it, I would like to remind you that it is not criminal to belong to a labor organization. Answer the question.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to answer the question, and my refusal is based on the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been in the armed services of this Nation?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. Yes, sir; I have been.

Mr. Arens. Please give us your service record.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I went into the service, to the best of my recollection, about May 1942.

Mr. Arens. Were you drafted or did you enlist?

Mr. Feldman. I was drafted.

Mr. Arexs. How long did you serve?

Mr. Feldman. I served, I believe, about 3½ years, sir.

Mr. Arens. Where, and in what branch of the service did you serve?

Mr. Feldman. I served in the States and overseas, in the South Pacific, and I was in, I believe, what was known then as the Air Corps.

Mr. Arens. In what capacity in the Air Corps did you serve?

Mr. Feldman. I was a radio operator on ground.

Mr. Arens. Did you belong to a labor organization while you were in the armed services?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. My answer is this: Although I feel that that violates my right under the first amendment, I will make this answer, that I did not belong to any labor organization while I was in the service.

Mr. Arens. Did you have a commission at any time while in the

service?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to make that answer on the basis of the first amendment and the fifth.

Mr. Arens. Did you have a commission at any time while you were in the service?

Mr. Feldman. I was an enlisted man all through my military career.

Mr. Arens. What messages did you transmit as a radio operator? What was the nature of the messages?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. My job was to keep in touch with cargo aircraft as it was making its way from one point to another.

Mr. Arens. What points? (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. To the best of my recollection from New Zealand to New Caledonia, from New Caledonia to Australia, from New Hebrides Islands to the Solomon Islands, from the New Hebrides Islands to several different islands about, within probably a radius of a thousand or 2,000 miles, or something like that.

Mr. Arens. During the course of your activities as a radio operator in the United States armed services, did you transmit to any person not authorized to receive the same confidential or restricted informa-

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. My answer is that I have never done anything against the security of my country, the United States, but I refuse to make answer to the question, and my refusal is based on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever transmitted any information which came into your possession in the course of your duties as a radio operator to a person not authorized by law to receive the same?

Mr. Feldman. I offer the same answer.

Mr. Arens. What is that answer? (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I have never done anything against the allegiance to the United States, and I refuse to make answer to the question and my refusal is based on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. I am glad to have that observation that you have never done anything against the allegiance to the United States. ever been a part and parcel of a foreign-controlled conspiracy designed to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and ${
m violence}\,?$

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to make answer to that question and my refusal is based on the first amendment and the fifth amendment to our Constitution.

Mr. Arens. Were you under Communist Party discipline when you

were a radio operator?

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to make answer to that question and my refusal is based on the first amendment to the Constitution and the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. Kearney. If you were not under Communist Party discipline at the time you were a radio operator, would you so state to the com-

mittee?

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to answer that question and my refusal is based on the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever taken an oath of allegiance to this

Nation?

Mr. Feldman. I took an oath when I was inducted in the Armed Forces.

Mr. Arens. Do you recall the nature of that oath?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. It is an oath of allegiance to my country the same as everyone else in the Armed Forces took.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any mental reservations when you took

that oath?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to make answer to that question and my refusal is based on the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you would tell this committee whether or not you raised your hand before Almighty God and in good faith took an oath of allegiance to this Nation under whose flag you have protection, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to answer the question and my refusal is based on the first amendment to the Constitution and the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer that last principal question.

The Chairman. Yes; you are directed to answer the question.

Mr. Feldman. My answer is the same.

Mr. Arens. What is colonization, do you know?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I don't understand the question.

Mr. Arens. Has that term had any significance in any of your extracurricular activities in this area in the course of the last several years?

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to answer the question, and my refusal is

based on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. If you did not know what I was talking about when I mentioned colonization, why is it that you duck behind the fifth amendment?

Mr. Feldman. My answer is the same. I refuse to answer based on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. The truth is, is it not, that you have been active on behalf of the Communist conspiracy in colonization in industry or industrial establishments in this State?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to make answer, and my refusal is based on the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Arens. Are you presently a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to answer that and my refusal is based on the

first amendment and the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. Do you propose, when you are released from subpena by the chairman of this committee and the pains and penalties of perjury no longer apply to you, to step out in the street like your counsel did yesterday, and say in effect, "Of course, I am not a member of the Communist conspiracy, I never have been, but I am not going to tell that witch-hunting committee which is trying to destroy the Constitution whether or not I have been a member of the Communist conspiracy." Do you propose to take that course of action or one very similar to it when you are released by the committee from your oath?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to make answer to that question, sir, and my refusal is based on the first amendment of the Constitution and the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, that would conclude, if you please, sir.

the interrogation by the staff of this witness.

Mr. Willis, Mr. Chairman, I would like to make this observation. The last three witnesses who have appeared before us all possessed university degrees, B. A.'s, Ph. D.'s and so on. Yet what is their occupation or their ostensible occupation? One said he was a sheet metalworker. The other one a fish scaler, and the present witness a meat clerk. Is that what they went to college for?

The witness has refused, by invoking the privilege of the fifth amendment, to tell us whether, while engaged as a meat clerk, he is receiving income or sources of income from other entities. I think, Mr. Chairman, the conclusion is inescapable that these people are professional agitators, expert emissaries of the Communist conspiracy, planted in the Southland. Who said it couldn't happen here?

The Charman. General Kearney!

Mr. Kearney. I understand, Mr. Feldman, that you are a graduate of the University of Wisconsin?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. Yes. sir: that is correct.

Mr. Kearney. And you consider yourself a loyal American?

Mr. Feldman. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. Kearner. As such, if you have any information at all which you could give to this committee concerning any organization which had or has for its objective the overthrow of our Government by force or violence, would you give it to this committee?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I must decline to answer that question, and my refusal is based on the first amendment and the fifth.

Mr. Kearney. You just answered that you are a loyal American.

Mr. Feldman. I say that again.

Mr. Kearney. For your type of loyal American, Mr. Feldman, let me say to you in all sincerity that I only have the utmost contempt.

(Applause from the audience.)

The Chairman. That is a violation of the rules of this committee and any further demonstrations of that sort will result in our being compelled to clear the hearing room.

Mr. Feldman, do you know John V. Myers?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I must decline to answer that question, and my refusal is based on the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

The Chairman. In other words, you feel if you admitted that you knew John V. Myers you might subject yourself to criminal prosecution?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Feldman. I refuse to make answer to that question, and my refusal is based on the grounds of the first amendment and the fifth.

The Chairman. The witness is excused from further attendance under the subpena.

(Witness excused.)

The Chairman. Call your next witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. Mr. William Binkley.

The Chairman. I think Mr. Binkley has been sworn.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM G. BINKLEY, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND—Resumed

Mr. Arens. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. Binkley. My name is W. G. Binkley, residence, near Walnut

Cove, N. C.—Occupation, at present unemployed.

Mr. Arens. Are you appearing today, Mr. Binkley, in response to a subpena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. Binkley. That is correct, sir.

Mr. Arens. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. Binkley. Tam.

Mr. Arens. Will counsel kindly identify themselves?

Miss Laks, Rhoda Laks, 615 Columbus Avenue, New York City.

Mr. Gullland. James D. Gilliland, Warrenton, N. C.

Mr. Arens. I take it, Mr. Binkley, you engaged counsel!

Mr. Binkley. I did, sir.

Mr. Arens. When did you engage counsel!

Mr. Binkley. I met Miss Laks Sunday, and I engaged her Sunday.

Mr. Arens. At whose instigation did you meet Miss Laks?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. Miss Laks was introduced to me by a friend.

Mr. Arens. Who was that friend?

Mr. Binkley. I must refrain from answering on the grounds of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Why?

Mr. Binkley. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee who introduced you to Miss Laks you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Binkley. Same answer, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. I would like to lay before you a photograph and ask if that photograph reproduces to you any scene which is familiar to you?

Mr. Binkley. I am afraid I will have to refuse to answer on the

grounds of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. That is your home, isn't it?

Mr. Binkley. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Are you going to deny before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that this is a picture of your own home?

Mr. Binkley. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Where did you say you lived?

Mr. Binkley. Walnut Cove, or near Walnut Cove.

Mr. Arens. Do you live on a farm? (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. What is the appearance of the house. Is it brick, wood, stone, logs? Of what is it made?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. In the main I think the house would be said to be made of logs or wood.

Mr. Arens. Is it a scene that looks similar to the scene portrayed in this photograph I just showed you?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. To that picture, I must refuse to answer on the

grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, although we have used this photograph, which has been identified as the premises used by the Communist Party for a leadership training school in North Carolina in 1952, we have not as yet introduced it into evidence. With your permission, I would like to introduce it at this time as "Binkley Exhibit No. 1."



The Chairman. The Binkley homestead? Yes.

Mr. Arens. The Binkley homestead where certain sessions were held which we will discuss later.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Binkley, please tell us a little of your own personal

background. Where and when were you born?

Mr. Binkley. I was born, according to the records, in Yadkin County, N. C., September 16, 1895.

Mr. Arens. Give us a word about your education, please, sir?

Mr. Binkley. The early part of my education took place in the country schoolhouses, grammar school. I don't remember the names of them. Later I was graduated from high school. I had 2 years at the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Arens. When did you complete your education at the Univer-

sity of North Carolina?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. I just couldn't remember without the records.

Mr. Arens. Your best recollection.

Mr. Binkley. Prior to 1920.

Mr. Arens. Did that complete your formal education?

Mr. Binkley. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Tell us chronologically of your employment since completion of your formal education.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. I could not with any reasonable certainty tell you.

Mr. Arens. When you completed your formal education where did you go to work?

Mr. Binkley. I didn't finish the question, sir. Mr. Arens. You mean the answer. Proceed.

Mr. Binkley. The answer. I cannot tell you certainly all the places I worked at. Mainly on the farm for the first several years. Later in the forties I worked for trade unions.

Mr. Arens. Let us start then in the forties.

Mr. Binkley. The first trade union, to my recollection, was the building-trades workers.

Mr. Ārens. In what capacity?

Mr. Binkley. Not the AFL, but the CIO building trades, headed by Mr. Lewis.

Mr. Arens. In what capacity did you work there?

Mr. Binkley. I did some organizational work for them over a period of time. I don't remember how long.

Mr. Arens. Was that off and on in the forties?

Mr. Binkley. It was during the early years of the forties.

Mr. Arens. Where was that?

Mr. Binkley. That was in Indiana.

Mr. Arens. Who enlisted you to work as an organizer for the building-trades workers in Indiana?

Mr. Binkley. I don't remember.

Mr. Arens. What was your next employment?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. After that I came back and lived on the farm for a couple of years, a year or two.

Mr. Arens. What caused your disassociation from the CIO?

Mr. BINKLEY. The illness of my mother. I went back to the homestead.

Mr. Arens. Was your employment with the CIO as an organizer in the building trades caused by any person known by you to have been a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Binkley. I must decline to answer that, sir, on the grounds of

the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Were you under Communist discipline when you were an organizer in the building trades in Indiana?

Mr. Binkley. I must decline to answer that, sir, on the same

grounds.

Mr. Arens. Let us go on. You quit the CIO and came back to your home State?

Mr. Binkley. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. We are in the forties, I take it.

Mr. Binkley. Yes.

Mr. Arens. What was your next employment?

Mr. Binkley. My next employment was with the furniture workers. That is my best recollection at the present time.

Mr. Arens. When was that! Are we still in the forties!

Mr. Binkley. I think it was the late forties or the middle forties.

Mr. Arens. In what capacity! Mr. Binkley. As an organizer.

Mr. Arexs. Who was head of the union!

Mr. Binkley. At this moment I do not remember.

Mr. Arens. Was your employment with the furniture workers caused by any person known by you to have been a member of the Communist conspiracy?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. I shall have to decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Were you a member of the Communist conspiracy and under Communist discipline when you were an organizer for the furniture workers!

Mr. Binkley. The same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Now we are in the late forties, and you are an organizer for the furniture workers. How long did that employment last, please, sir?

Mr. Binkley. Approximately 1 year, as I recollect it now.

Mr. Arexs. Who was the international president of the furniture workers when you were with it?

Mr. Binkley. I am sorry, I don't remember. I could not answer

that.

Mr. Arens. Let us have you next employment, please, sir.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. I think, sir, to the best of my recollection, I came back to the farm and stayed a year after that.

Mr. Arexs. Does that take us into the early fifties?

Mr. Binkley. Approximately.

Mr. Arens. Let us take your next employment.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. I will have to decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. As of what period! Let us be sure we understand each other.

Mr. Binkley. After the time stated.

Mr. Arens. What time stated?

Mr. Binkley. After I came back from the furniture workers and worked a year on the farm.

Mr. Arens. What year was it that you concluded your year's

service on the farm?

Mr. Binkley. Approximately the early fifties.

Mr. Arens. What was your next employment? (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. I decline to answer that.

Mr. Arens. After we get in and out of this dark era, when was your next employment?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. I think, sir, that is the same question and I must decline to answer it on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Are you unable or do you refuse to answer questions

respecting any employment by yourself from 1950 on?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. I must decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Is there any employment in which you have been engaged since 1950 of the nonsensitive variety?

Mr. Binkley. I must decline, with the same answer.

Mr. Arens. What is your present employment?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. At present I am unemployed. Mr. Arens. When were you last employed?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. I must decline to answer that, sir, on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been identified with the United Electri-

Mr. Binkley. I must decline, with the same answer.

Mr. Arens. Didn't you omit a little employment when you were hastily covering your early life in 1934 that you forgot to tell us about?

Mr. Binkley. I must decline to answer that. Mr. Arens. Where were you working in 1934?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. I think I will have to decline to answer.

Mr. Arens. You don't have to decline. Do you decline to answer it because you fear you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Binkley. I decline to answer on the grounds stated.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. Tell the witness where he was working. That

might refresh his recollection.

Mr. Arens. Were you working in Louisiana?

Mr. Binkley. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I invite your attention to a photostatic copy of the Communist Daily Worker for December 7, 1934, containing an article appearing in double headline, "Denver Goes Over the Top Though Sections Lag in 'Daily' Fund Drive." I would like to quote you an excerpt from this article to see if that refreshes your recollection:

Declaring that Louisiana must not fail in contributing its share to the drive, W. G. Binkley, Communist Party organizer of the district, has called upon "every section, every unit, every party member to feel the responsibility to get behind the daily with full steam. The task of raising funds," the district organizer stated, "must become a part of our daily work. Collect nickels and dimes and arrange affairs; ask sympathizers for donations."

Rush all funds to the Daily Worker now! The money still needed to complete

the drive must be raised by December 15.

Will you take a look at that article for us, Mr. Binkley, and see if it refreshes your recollection as to what you might have been doing in 1934?

[Witness looking at article referred to.]

Mr. Arens. Does the article refresh your recollection?

Mr. Binkley. I must decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. This was during a period you told us you were helping your father on the farm.

[Witness consulted his counsel.]

Mr. Binkley. I decline to answer that.

Mr. Arens. Did your father ever have a farm in Louisiana?

Mr. Binkley. I decline to answer that.

Mr. Arens. Back in 1930, you were a candidate for the Congress, weren't you?

Mr. Binkley. I decline to answer that, same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Were you a candidate for the Congress while you were plowing the fields for your father on the farm in 1930?

Mr. Binkley. I must decline to answer that.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Binkley, I lay before you a photostatic copy of the Communist Daily Worker of Tuesday, October 7, 1930, in which appears an article stating, among other things, that a W. G. Binkley is a candidate for Congress on the Communist Party ticket. Look at that article for us, please, sir, and see if that refreshes your recollection.

[Witness looking at article referred to.]

Mr. Arens. Does it help your recollection any?

Mr. Binkley. I shall decline to answer that, on the grounds of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. While you were working on that farm with your father in the early thirties, somehow you got to be quite a big shot in the Communist Party, didn't you! I lay before you now a photostatic copy of a letter from Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America, addressed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the late thirties, with which he transmits the list of members of the National Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America, who were elected at the 10th annual convention. I observe here the name W. G. Binkley, which we have underlined to assist you in finding it. Will you look over that document and see if it refreshes your recollection as to your employment while you were plowing in the cornfields on your father's farm?

(Witness looking at the document mentioned.) Mr. Arens. Does that refresh your recollection?

Mr. Binkley. I must decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Binkley, while you were working on your father's farm, did you have occasion to be engaged in a little extracurricular activity down in New Orleans in the early thirties?

Mr. Binkley. I must decline to answer.

Mr. Arens. I should say in the late thirties.

Mr. Binkley. On the grounds stated.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been in jail?

Mr. Binkley. I must decline to answer that.

Mr. Arens. Were you in jail in Louisiana in New Orleans in 1936?

Mr. Binkley. I am declining to answer that on the grounds of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. I want to lay before you now a photostatic copy of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker of October 13, 1936, entitled, "Binkley, Danna, Fined, Jailed in New Orleans." The article reads on:

W. G. Binkley, district organizer of the Communist Party, and Clifford Danna, an innocent bystander, were each sentenced to 25 days in jail and fined \$25 on the charge of being dangerous and suspicious characters.

Let me lay that article before you to see if it might refresh your recollection as to what you were doing on the side while you were plowing corn for your father on his farm.

(Witness looking at article.)

Mr. Arens. Does that refresh your recollection as to any——

Mr. Binkley. I shall refuse to answer under the terms of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Back in the thirties while you were working on your father's farm, were you also active in the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. Binkley. I shall decline to answer that for the reasons given.

Mr. Arens. I would like to lay before you a photostatic copy of the Daily Workers of February 15, 1930 containing an article entitled "Form Jobless Council in North Carolina. Many Negro Workers at Meeting," date line Winston-Salem, N. C. Among other things the article says that W. G. Binkley, local TUUL secretary, was chairman of the meeting. Does that article help to refresh your recollection as to any activity in which you were engaged while you were plowing on your father's farm?

(Witness looking at article.)

Mr. Binkley. I must decline to answer that on the grounds of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that each of these documents just exhibited to the witness be incorporated by reference in this record for retention in the files of the committee, but that specifically the citations of the Trade Union Unity League by the then Attorney General, by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, and by the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, be incorporated in this record.

The Chairman. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The citations are as follows:)

TRADE-UNION UNITY LEAGUE

1. "In 1929 the Trade-Union Educational League became the Trade-Union Unity League * * * The TUUL, as it was called, openly supported and was dominated by the Communist Party."

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28,

1942, p. 10.)

2. Cited as a Communist front directly controlled by the Communist Party. It was headed by William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; was composed of some 20 Communist unions and was affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions of Moscow.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, March 29, 1944, pp. 94 and 124; also cited in Reports January 3, 1939, p. 63,

and January 3, 1940, pp. 8 and 9.)

3. "When the Communist Party was organized formally in 1919, it denounced the A. F. of L. as 'reactionary' and proclaimed that U. S. Communists would lead the way to 'revolutionary industrial unionism.' The Trade-Union Unity League was launched and attempted to create blatantly Communist-sponsored and controlled trade unions; * * * After a long record of failure, the Communist Party abandoned the Trade-Union Unity League and returned to the pre-Communist Party program of the radical organizations. Every attempt was made to infiltrate and dominate the A. F. of L."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, n. 36.)

4. "The federation of the Communist Party's own labor unions * * * The Comintern ordered American Communists to create their own unions, particularly among basic industries. Thus arose the Trade-Union Unity League Unions (TUUL). * * * In 1935 the Communists were ordered to disband the TUUL unions and actively to penetrate the corresponding unions of the American Federal of Labor."

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 121 and 306.)

Mr. Arens. Somewhere along the line in your career you became a lawyer, did you not, Mr. Binkley!

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. Would you read the question again!

 ${
m Mr.\, Arexs.\,\, Are\, you\, a \, lawyer ?}$ Have you been admitted to the bar !

Mr. Binkley. I was in 1922 or 1923.

Mr. Arens. Are you presently admitted to practice in North Carolina?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. To the best of my knowledge I haven't practiced law since 1926 or thereabouts.

Mr. Arens. I would like to invite your attention, Mr. Binkley, to a rather current article appearing in the Greensboro Daily News, which quotes you. It is headlined, "Farmer Binkley Denies All." Among other things, it says, quoting you:

I was under the impulse yesterday of writing a letter to the paper and denying it, and then I thought, well, never mind.

That is with reference to certain testimony which was given by witnesses under oath identifying you as part of the Communist conspiracy.

Did you as Farmer Binkley deny it all to the newspaper, the Greens-

boro Daily News?

Mr. Binkley. I must refuse to answer that under the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. You are under oath before this committee. Why don't you deny it all to this committee as to whether or not you have been in the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Binkley. I shall have to refuse to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. Arens. Do you as Farmer Binkley, propose after your release from this subpena, to step out in the hall or issue some statement either by yourself or through your counsel saying in effect, "Of course I am not a member of the Communist conspiracy. I deny it all. I just didn't get around to saying it in this paper. I thought 'Well, never mind.'" Do you propose that course of action, Mr. Binkley?

Mr. Binkley. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the first and

fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Did you take a hand in behalf of the 12 Communist traitors who were convicted in New York City in 1949?

Mr. Binkley. I will have to refuse to answer that on the grounds of

the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Is it true you did sign a statement in behalf of the 12 Communist traitors in New York City?

Mr. Binkley. I am refusing to answer that on the grounds of the

first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Binkley, look over your right shoulder. Do you see the gentleman against the wall, third from the end? Have you ever seen him before?

(Witness looks as directed.)

Mr. Binkley. I shall refuse to answer that on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. That is Mr. Childs, Mr. Binkley. He testified under oath before this committee that he knew you as a member of the Communist conspiracy when he was an undercover agent for the FBI. Was he lying or telling the truth?

Mr. Binkley. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the grounds of the

first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Do you know a person by the name of Childs?

Mr. Binkley. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Who was Mother Bloor?

Mr. Binkley. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Was she one of the darlings of the Communist conspiracy until she passed away a year or so ago?

Mr. Binkley. I shall refuse to answer that under the first and

fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. You have sent greetings to her, have you not?

Mr. Binkley. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been identified with the International Labor Defense?

Mr. Binkley. I shall have to refuse to answer that on the grounds

of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you were attorney for the International Labor Defense, which has been repeatedly cited by the agencies of this Government as one arm of the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. Binkley. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the first

and first amendments.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the record at this point include the citations of the International Labor Defense.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(Citations follow:)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

1. Cited as subversive and Communist. (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.)
2. "Legal arm of the Communist Party." (Attorney General Francis Biddle,

Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.)

3. "It is, essentially, the legal defense arm of the Communist Party of the United States." It is the American section of M. O. P. R., or Red International of Labor Defense, often referred to as the Red International Aid. Its international congresses meet in Moscow. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, January 3, 1939, pp. 75–78; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 19; March 29, 1944, p. 69.)

4. "The International Labor Defense * * * was part of an international network

of organizations for the defense of Communist lawbreakers." At a conference held in Detroit, Mich., April 27–28, 1946, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties merged to form the new front, Civil Rights Congress. (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities Penert No. 1115, September 2, 1947, and Land 2019. tivities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, pp. 1 and 2.)

Mr. Arens. Mr. Binkley, have you ever held any educational sessions in your home?

Mr. Binkley. I shall refuse to answer that on the grounds of the

first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Childs testified here yesterday that while he was an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation he and the other comrades met with you at your home for Communist Party leadership training sessions. Was Mr. Childs lying about that or was he telling the truth?

Mr. Binkley. The same answer—the first and fifth amendments. Mr. Arens. Have you ever served in the Armed Forces of your

country?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. No, sir; I have not.

Mr. Arens. Are you presently a member of the Communist con-

Mr. Binkley. Sir, I shall refuse to answer on the grounds of the

first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that would conclude the interrogation of this witness.

The Chairman. Are there any questions, General Kearney.

Mr. Kearney. Yes. I understood the witness to say—correct me if I am wrong—that you have not practiced law since 1926.

Mr. Bunkley. I said that was to the best of my recollection.

Mr. Kearney. Are you still a member of the bar?

Mr. Binkley. I wouldn't consider myself so.

Mr. Kearney. Have you been disbarred?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. No.

Mr. Kearney. Will you explain why you don't consider yourself a member of the bar?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. Because I have not been active and have not paid the State license tax required of attorneys.

Mr. Kearney. In other words, then, you are not legally entitled to practice law because you have not paid your license fee, is that so?

Mr. Binkley. I would consider that so.

Mr. Kearney. We get one truthful answer out of you, anyway, do- $\mathbf{we} \ \mathbf{not}$?

(No response.)

Mr. Kearney. How many people at any one given time can your home hold?

Mr. Binkley. I will have to invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Kearney. How many of the comrades have appeared at any one given time at your home for a meeting?

Mr. Binkley. I shall have to invoke the first and fifth amendments. Mr. Kearney. Were you a lecturer at those meetings?

Mr. Binkley. Same answer.

Mr. Kearney. I will ask you the same question I asked Mr. Feldman. You also attended a great university, the University of North Carolina, isn't that so?

Mr. Binkley. That is right.

Mr. Kearney. I presume that you consider yourself a loyal American?

Mr. BINKLEY. I certainly do.

Mr. Kearney. If you had any information concerning any organization which had for its objective the overthrow of our Government by force and violence, would you give it to this committee?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Binkley. I shall have to invoke the first and fifth amendments. Mr. Kearney. Is that what you consider being a good loyal American?

Mr. Binkley. I still consider it so.

Mr. Kearney. Your definition and my definition of a loyal American are entirely different. I want to say this to you, Mr. Binkley. and to every witness who has taken the same attitude that you have. For several years I have sat on this committee. We have been in places all over the country. We have seen your type of witness time and time The set answer is the refusal to answer, the taking of refuge behind the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution that you and others of your ilk are seeking to overthrow, and it is nauseating. Take that home with you.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

Miss Laks. Is this witness excused, sir?

The Chairman. Yes.

(Witness excused.)

(Present at the time of taking the recess were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearney.)

(Short recess.)

(Present following the recess were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearney.)

The Charman. The committee will be in order.

Call your next witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. Mr. George Van Camp, please.

The Charman. Raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Van Camp. I do.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE DAVID VAN CAMP, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL. RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND

Mr. Arens. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. Van Camp. George David Van Camp. I live at H-2, Sunny-

sides Homes, Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. And your occupation?

Mr. Van Camp. I am a sheet-metal worker.

Mr. Arens. Where?

Mr. Van Camp. I work at the Aluminum Awning Co.

Mr. Arens. Is that the same company for which Warren Williams, a previous witness, worked?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. It is called Aluminum Awning Co.

Mr. Arens. Do you know a man by the name of Warren Williams? (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. I won't answer that on the first and fifth amend-

ment. Mr. Arexs. Is he a fellow employee at this aluminum company?

(Witness consulted his counsel.) Mr. Arens. The record may be a little confused. Let us start at this point. I am not going to ask you at the moment whether you know him. Is Warren Williams employed at the establishment where you

are employed?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. No, sir, as far as I know there is no Warren Wil-

Mr. Arens. Thank you, sir. Later we will go into whether or not you know him.

Are you appearing today in response to a subpena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Are you represented by counsel? Mr. Van Camp. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Will counsel identify themselves? Miss Laks. Rhoda Laks, 510 Columbus Avenue, New York City.

Mr. Gilliaxb. James D. Gilliland, Warrenton, N. C.

Mr. Arexs. You engaged counsel, did you, Mr. Van Camp?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. When did you first meet the lady counsel to your right?

Mr. Van Camp. The weekend.

Mr. Arexs. Just this last weekend?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. How did you happen to meet her?

Mr. Vax Camp. I was introduced to her.

Mr. Arens. By whom?

Mr. Van Camp. I won't answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Why?

Mr. Van Camp. Same reason.

Mr. Arens. Do you mean to tell us that if you would tell the committee truthfully who introduced you to your counsel you would be giving information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Van Camp. No, sir; I won't answer that either on the same

grounds.

Mr. Willis. Mr. Counsel, have you ever asked for the record, the name of the firm with which the lady is associated?

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly tell us for this record with what

firm you are associated?

Miss Laks. I am in practice with Robert Z. Lewis at the same address. There is no firm name, Mr. Willis, but we are in practice together.

Mr. Arens. Where and when were you born?

Mr. Van Camp. I was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1926, June 4.

Mr. Arens. Give us, if you please, a word about your education. Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir. I started school in Southern Pines of this State. I forget what year, but I started in the first grade. I went through high school, the same school. I went to Duke University.

I went to Duke University, I think, 1943.

Mr. Willis. What degree did you achieve there?

Mr. Van Camp. I have not finished that education, sir. It was interrupted by an enlistment in the Navy for 2 years, and I went back to Duke at the end of that time and completed.

Mr. Arens. Let us get the record straight. You went to Duke in

1943, and went there for 2 years, is that correct?

Mr. Van Camp. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. Let us get it correct. I am afraid the record is not straight.

Mr. Van Camp. I think it was May of 1944 when I went into the

Navy.

Mr. Arens. When did you enroll in Duke University?

Mr. Van Camp. It must have been in July of 1943, the best I can remember.

Mr. Arens. And then you continued your studies there at Duke University until you went into the Navy; is that correct?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. When did you go into the Navy?

Mr. VAN CAMP. That was, I think, in May of the following year.

Mr. Arens. May of 1944. Did you enlist or were you drafted?

Mr. Van Camp. I enlisted. I was under age.

Mr. Arens. Did you have a commission in the Navy?

Mr. Van Camp. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. In what capacity did you serve in the Navy?

Mr. Van Camp. I trained as a radio gunner in the aircrew, and before that was finished—I didn't complete that program—I was put into a program of electronic repair. I forget just what the name was.

When I finished that course—I finished the course in electronics—I was assigned to a ship and assigned to another ship and discharged.

Mr. Arens. What did you do on these ships?

Mr. Van Camp. Fixed radio gear and radar gear.

Mr. Arens. Were you a radio operator, too?

Mr. Van Camp. I didn't finish that program. I didn't finish that training. I can operate a radio; yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Was your enlistment in the Navy at the instigation or direction of any person other than a person in your immediate family?

Mr. Van Camp. It was my own choice.

Mr. Arens. Exclusively your own choice; is that correct?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes. I think I had to have permission from my family.

Mr. Arens. What did you do after you were discharged from the

Mr. Van Camp. I went back to Duke. That was June or July of

Mr. Arens. From 1944 to 1946 you were in the Navy?

Mr. Van Camp. I was in the Navy.

Mr. Arens. You were discharged from the Navy in 1946; is that correct?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes.

Mr. Arens. You immediately went to Duke University; is that

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. How long did you remain at Duke University when you reenrolled in 1946?

Mr. Van Camp. Until the summer of 1949. I am pretty sure of

Mr. Arexs. What degree did you receive?

Mr. Van Camp. It was an A. B. It was a preministerial degree. I don't know what it was called. The diploma does not say. It was probably religion.

Mr. Arens. An A. B. degree in religion in 1949?

Mr. VAN CAMP. I think that it was probably. It might have been philosophy, but it was for preministerial training.

Mr. Arens. You proposed to go on to the seminary, I take it.

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you continue your education by going to a seminary?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. What seminary did you enter?

Mr. Van Camp. Duke Divinity School.

Mr. Arens. When did you enter Duke Divinity School?

Mr. Van Camp. Immediately following. I don't know exactly when. It was in that fall. Mr. Arens. 1949?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. In passing, is Duke Divinity operated by the Methodist denomination? I happen to be a Methodist myself. That is the reason I have a personal interest.

Mr. Van Camp. I think so.

Mr. Arens. If you were going to divinity school you certainly must know what denomination prevailed.

Mr. Van Camp. I was a Methodist, but the Baptists and everybody

were there.

Mr. Arens. Is it a Methodist seminary?

Mr. Van Camp. You don't have to be Methodist to go there.

Mr. Arens. Is it controlled by the Methodist Church?

Mr. Van Camp. I don't know.

Mr. Arens. You entered the seminary in 1949. Tell us, if you please, how long you attended the seminary?

Mr. Van Camp. I left there before completing a semester.

Mr. Arens. What occasioned your disassociation from the seminary ?

Mr. Van Camp. A personal decision.

Mr. Arens. Was that completely voluntary on your part?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. You decided the call was not quite clear to you, is that ${\tt correct}$?

Mr. Van Camp. You could put it that way.

Mr. Arens. Tell us what you did next.

Mr. Van Camp. I went to the University of North Carolina. I needed the extra work to get a teaching certificate. So I went there because they had courses there and they didn't offer them at Duke.

Mr. Arens. Please pause a moment, sir. When did you enter the University of North Carolina?

Mr. Van Camp. Immediately the next quarter.

Mr. Arens. Would that be in 1950?

Mr. VAN CAMP. That would be in 1950, yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. In what courses did you enroll at the University of North Carolina?

Mr. Van Camp. Various required courses to teach.

Mr. Arexs. Looking toward a teacher's certificate, is that correct?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. How long did you pursue that course at the University

of North Carolina for which you enrolled in 1950?

Mr. Van Camp. I went there until the summer school, and in order to get courses which they didn't offer there, I went back to Duke summer school and got my certificate.

Mr. Arens. What degree did you receive?

Mr. Van Camp. It is not a degree. You have to have certain required courses.

Mr. Arens. In what year did you receive a full-fledged certificate? Mr. Van Camp. They call it a "B" certificate. You have to teach a

year or have practiced teaching.

Mr. Arexs. When did you get the "B" certificate?

Mr. Van Camp. I suppose it was right after I finished my training.

Mr. Arens. What year?

Mr. Van Camp. That would be in the summer of 1950. The end of the summer of 1950.

Mr. Arens. In what courses did you receive your certificate to

Mr. Van Camp. In mathematics and science.

Mr. Arens. Physical science?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Take us on from there, if you please. We are up to 1950, and you have your "B" certificate from Duke University to teach.

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Would you pause a moment? In what type of school does a "B" certificate permit you to teach, in high school, grade school, college?

Mr. Van Camp. There are probably certain grades you cannot teach in the grammar school for the certificate I had because it was for mathematics and science. There is some difference there. I don't know exactly.

Mr. Arens. We will go on to the schools where you taught after

receiving your certificate.

Mr. Van Camp. I don't teach now.

Mr. Arens. You got your certificate to teach, but you decided not

Mr. VAN CAMP. I taught. You mean where did I teach?

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir. In 1950 you procured a B certificate to teach mathematics and physical science. Now what happened next?

Mr. Van Camp. I got employment at East Rockingham, N. C.

don't recall the name.

Mr. Arens. Was it a high school?

Mr. VAN CAMP. I started teaching the seventh grade. The highschool teacher left to get married and I took her place.

Mr. Arens. What did you teach in the seventh grade, all courses!

Mr. Van Camp. The whole thing; yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any extracurricular assignments at the high school, such as superintendency of children in any of their social or intellectual pursuits?

Mr. Van Camp. I was employed just to teach. I don't remember

anything else I might have done.

Mr. Arens. Didn't the high school have certain clubs or assignments or social activities of the students which were under the supervision of the teachers?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir; I suppose so.

 ${
m Mr.~Arens.~Did}$ you engage in those activities?

Mr. Van Camp. If they fell to my duty, I suppose so.
Mr. Arens. That has been only 5 years ago. Can you tell us whether or not you had assignments to help run any of the clubs of the students? Were you what might be called a faculty adviser or sponsor?

Mr. Vax Самр. No, sir; I can't remember anything like that.

Mr. Arens. How long did you teach in the high school at East Rockingham, N. C.?

Mr. Van Camp. I resigned after that year.

Mr. Arens. You resigned at the end of 1950; is that correct?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir: I think so.

Mr. Arens. What occasioned your resignation?

Mr. Van Самр. Wait a minute.

Mr. Arens. I am sorry.

Mr. Van Camp. That would have been 1951. I taught there from 1950 to 1951.

Mr. Arens. What occasioned your resignation?

Mr. Van Camp. I thought I would try another school.

Mr. Arens. Is that the exclusive reason for your resignation?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Tell us about the next school, and the dates.

Mr. Van Camp. I looked that summer for a job teaching and didn't find anything satisfactory, and gave it up.

Mr. Arens. Gave up teaching?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. You have given up the ministry and given up the teaching profession. What was your next activity looking toward economic gain for yourself?

Mr. Van Camp. I looked for any job that I could make a living at.

Mr. Arens. How long was it before you got another job in 1951? Mr. Van Camp. It must have been the end of that summer, I think.

Mr. Arens. What was the job?

Mr. Van Camp. It was working on a construction project.

 ${
m Mr.\,Arens.\,\,Where}\,?$

Mr. Van Camp. It was at a housing project in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. What project?

Mr. Van Camp. Called the Piedmont Park, I think. Mr. Arens. What did you do on the housing project?

Mr. Van Camp. Just everything, common laborer.

Mr. Arens. How long did you work there?

Mr. Van Camp. It wasn't too long. I don't remember.

Mr. Arens. Was it a matter of a few months?

Mr. Van Camp. A short time.

Mr. Arens. What occasioned your disassociation from that employment?

Mr. Van Camp. I found another job that paid a little better.

Mr. Arens. Where was that?

Mr. Van Camp. It was working on a building, doing the same sort I believe it was just common labor, but a little bit better money.

Mr. Arens. Where was that, please?

Mr. Van Camp. Reynolds Tobacco Co. building.

Mr. Arens. Was that in the Reynolds Tobacco Co. building?

Mr. Van Camp. Working on it. It was no building yet.

Mr. Arens. You were working on the construction of a building for the Reynolds Tobacco Co., is that correct?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you recall who procured that job for you?

Mr. Van Camp. Myself.

Mr. Arens. All by yourself?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. That began in 1952, to your best recollection, is that correct?

Mr. Van Camp. 1951 as I best can remember. Mr. Arens. We are still in 1951?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Arens. How long were you working on this construction job at the Reynolds Tobacco Co. building, which began your employment in 1951?

Mr. Van Camp. However long it was. It lasted up to about the fall of the year some time.

Mr. Arens. The fall of 1951?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes.

Mr. Arens. What happened then? Mr. Van Camp. I got a better job.

Mr. Arens. You quit that job or was the job completed?

Mr. Van Camp. No, sir, I just quit it when another job went

Mr. Arens. Where was the other job?

Mr. VAN CAMP. At Haines Hosiery.

Mr. Arens. What did you do there?

Mr. VAN CAMP. I knit.

Mr. Arens. Where was that?

Mr. VAN CAMP. Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. When was that?

Mr. Van Camp. Right after that.

Mr. Arens. Was it in 1952?

Mr. Van Camp. 1951 into 1952.

Mr. Arens. You ran a knitting machine?

Mr. Van Camp. A whole line of them.

Mr. Arens. Had you ever had experience in running knitting machines?

Mr. Van Camp. Not before that, no, sir.

Mr. Arens. Who procured that job for you?

Mr. Van Camp. Myself. All by myself.

Mr. Arens. How long did you have that job?

Mr. Van Camp. A little over a year. Mr. Arens. Then what happened?

Mr. Van Camp. I quit that job and got a job at Turner-White Casket Co.

Mr. Arens. How did you happen to get that job?

Mr. Van Camp. I went and looked for it.

Mr. Arens. Why did you want to quit your job running the knitting machines?

Mr. Van Camp. I went to work at midnight and worked until morning, and I could not sleep.

Mr. Arens. Did you belong to a union while you were at the knitting

 $\min 1?$

Mr. VAN CAMP. No union there.

Mr. Arens. What did you do at the casket company?

Mr. Van Camp. I worked on caskets.

Mr. Arens. You made caskets?

Mr. Van Camp. I helped.

Mr. Arens. Was that in 1952?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir. Toward the end of 1952.

Mr. Arens. How long did you hold that job?

Mr. Van Camp. Not very long. Maybe 3 months, about toward the end of the year.

Mr. Arens. Why did you not hold that job longer than that?

Mr. Van Camp. I was fired.

Mr. Arens. I beg your pardon?

Mr. Van Camp. I was fired.

Mr. Arens. Why?

Mr. Van Camp. I didn't do it well enough, 1 suppose.

Mr. Arens. You mean your work was not efficient; is that correct? Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir, I just didn't do it fast enough. I couldn't keep it up.

Mr. Arens. Is that the reason you were fired?

Mr. Van Camp. That is the reason they gave me.

Mr. Arens. Give us your next employment. When, where, and what did you do?

Mr. Van Camp. I got a job at Western Auto Stores during the Christmas season for the Christmas rush there. It was not very long.

It was just during the Christmas rush and I was just hired for that purpose.

Mr. Arens. Just for a few months?

Mr. Van Camp. Not months.

Mr. Arens. A few weeks?

Mr. Van Camp. Not that long. Just before Christmas up until Christmas.

Mr. Arens. Did you get that job by yourself?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir; all by myself. Mr. Arens. Your next employment?

Mr. Van Camp. At Unique Furniture Co.

Mr. Arens. Where was that?

Mr. VAN CAMP. The same town, Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. What did you do there?

Mr. Van Camp. I worked on furniture.

Mr. Arens. When was that?

Mr. Van Camp. That was starting New Year's of 1953 and it lasted a little over a year, I think.

Mr. Arens. Making furniture?

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you belong to a union while you were with this furniture company?

Mr. Van Camp. No union there.

Mr. Arens. What occasioned your disassociation from the Unique-Furniture Co.?

Mr. Van Camp. I got a better job.

Mr. Arens. Where was this better job!

Mr. Van Camp. In a foundry, Briggs-Shafner.

Mr. Arens. Where is that?

Mr. Van Camp. Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. How long did you work there?

Mr. Van Camp. Something toward a year. I don't know whether it made a year or not.

Mr. Arens. What did you do there?

Mr. Van Camp. I melted metal and poured metal. I was classed as a melter.

Mr. Arens. When did you leave that foundry?

Mr. Van Camp. That must have been in 1955, the best I can figure. It was last year.

Mr. Arens. The latter part of last year, you said? I couldn't quite

understand you.

Mr. Van Camp. I don't know just what month; spring or somewhere around then.

Mr. Arens. What occasioned your disassociation from the foundry? Mr. Van Camp. I ruptured a disk in my back. The work was rather heavy, and they laid me off.

Mr. Arens. Give us your next employment.

Mr. VAN CAMP. That is where I am working now.

Mr. Arens. When did you begin your present employment? Mr. Van Camp. That was, I think, the spring of last year.

Mr. Arens. You have had so many employments I have actually forgotten. I must apologize, but I do not know where you work now. Mr. Van Camp. It is Aluminum Awning Co.

Mr. Arens. Have you told us about all of the education you received! (Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. Wait just a minute.

Mr. Arens. Let me recite this to you. You told us about your training at North Carolina and Duke Universities. Are they the only places where you received formal education in the last several years?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Have you received any specialized training in the last few years?

Mr. Van Camp. Specialized?

Mr. Arens. Yes.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. I take the first and fifth on that.

Mr. Arens. What do you mean, you take the first and fifth?

Mr. Van Camp. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments to the Bill of Rights.

Mr. Arens. Why!

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee whether or not you had taken any specialized training in the last few years, in addition to the education which you have thus far recited, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. Vax Самр. I will abide by my answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Look over your right shoulder, please. Do you see the man near the wall, about the fourth or fifth from the end, wearing eyeglasses? It is the fifth person seated over there.

Mr. VAN CAMP. The one that is kind of grinning?

Mr. Arens. Next to the lady with the eyeglasses. Do you see him? Mr. Van Camp. I do.

Mr. Arens. When did you last see him?

Mr. Van Camp. I refuse to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. That gentleman sitting over there, yesterday came before this committee of the Congress, took an oath to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. In the course of his testimony he said that he knew you as a member of the Communist conspiracy and that he knew you as one who was in attendance at a certain Communist Party leadership training school held at Walnut Cove, N. C., in August 1952. Was that man lying or telling the truth when he so testified?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. I decline to answer that on the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Do you know Charles Childs?

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arexs. Have you ever been to Walnut Cove, N. C.?

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. I would like to lay before you a photograph previously identified in this record to see if it prompts your recollection of any place where you may have been.

Mr. Van Camp. I decline to answer that question on the grounds

of the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Did you have a rehearsal session with your lawyers be-

fore you came into this courtroom?

Mr. Van Camp. The same answer, sir. Anything I say with my counsel is my private business, and I hope you will respect the confidential relationship between counsel and client.

Mr. Arens. I did not ask you what you said.

The Chairman. You may think it is your private business but it is not. It is the business of the United States. We have sat here very patiently and watched your lawyers telling you what to say even when you did not seek legal advice. It is the business of this committee to know just exactly what we have asked you. We are trying to get the

truth, not to conceal it.

Mr. Arens. I think the record should be clear, Mr. Chairman, that the rules of this committee provide that the participation of counsel to a witness during the course of any hearing, and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights. For the last 2 days I have heard counsel here buzzing like bees. Unfortunately I have overheard some remarks which I do not think fall exclusively within the purview of advice to a witness as to his legal rights.

The Chairman. On several occasions, I have been tempted to admin-

ister the oath and deal directly with counsel.

Mr. Gilliland. Sir, are you trying to intimidate counsel?

The Chairman. I am not attempting to intimidate you or anyone else.

Mr. Gilliand. All right, sir.

The Chairman. I just want you to know that I was not born yesterday.

Mr. Arens. Are you presently a member of the Communist con-

spiracy?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. VAN CAMP. Will you repeat that question?

Mr. Arens. Are you presently a member of the Communist conspiracy?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. I decline to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. State your answer correctly. Are you presently a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Van Camp. I decline to answer that, sir.

Mr. Arens. Why?

Mr. Van Camp. On the basis of the first amendment of the Constitution and the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. Arens. Tell us all of the organizations of the non-Communist, nonsensitive variety to which you belong.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. Will you repeat that last question?

Mr. Arens. Tell us all of the organizations you belong to which could not, by the wildest stretch of the imagination, be called Communist controlled or dominated or front organizations.

Mr. Van Camp. I am afraid I will have to refuse to answer.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness

be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question. I want you to understand that you are being asked by counsel to give the names of organizations which are not Communist, not proscribed organizations, so that you will know what you are doing when you answer the question.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

The Chairman. Will you answer the question, please?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

The Chairman. I wish counsel would not interrupt their witness all the time.

Mr. Van Camp. They are not interrupting, sir. I would like to have them tell me what my legal rights are in this case.

The Chairman. Answer the question.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. Are you ready for my answer?

Mr. Arens. Yes.

Mr. Van Camp. I don't know because I don't know what the committee's definition of what a non-Communist or Communist organization is. I will have to decline to answer that question on the basis of the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

The Chairman. If you do not know what a non-Communist organization is, why do you refuse to answer the question as to whether or not you are a member of the Communist conspiracy!

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. I will have to decline to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. Arens. I would like to ask if you can help us a little on some other individuals. Did you ever know a person by the name of Ralph C. Clontz, Jr.?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. I will decline to answer that on the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Joseph Franklin Blake?

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Nathaniel Bond?

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. John V. Myers?

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. William Evans?

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Viola Brown?

Mr. Van Camp. Excuse me just a minute, sir.

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. I would like to amend one answer.

Mr. Arens. Good; we would like you to do so.

Mr. VAN CAMP. Bill Evans is my brother-in-law.

Mr. Arens. I am glad to have you tell us that. Tell us how else you have known him. You know him as your brother-in-law. He married your sister, I take it.

Mr. Van Camp. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Have you been with him on social occasions?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you attend the wedding! Mr. Van Camp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arexs. What other sessions have you attended with Bill Evans?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. As to any other relationship with Bill Evans, I will have to rely on the first amendment and the fifth amendment to refuse to answer.

Mr. Arens. Is Bill Evans about your age?

(Witness consulted his counsel.) Mr. Van Camp. About, I suppose.

Mr. Arens. Did you and he go to the university together?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. I don't think he was attending the same university at the same time I was. I don't know.

Mr. Arens. Were you and Bill Evans classmates at that training

school portrayed in the picture we displayed to you?

Mr. Van Camp. I will have to refuse to answer that on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arexs. Do you know your brother-in-law as a member of the Communist conspiracy!

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Do you want to amend your answers on anyone besides Bill Evans?

Mr. Van Camp. No, sir.

The Charman. Just a minute. How about John V. Myers?

Mr. Vax Самр. Иsaid, "No, sir"; I don't want to amend.

The Chairman. You do not want to amend your answer about him? He is the man your lawyer stated, after the hearing, was not a Communist.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell this committee and the people of this community while you are in a public session whether or not your counsel, Miss Laks, was sent here by the Communist conspiracy to tell you what to do?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Camp. I will have to rely on the first and fifth on that, sir.

Mr. Arexs. Can you kindly tell us why it is she is appearing here for every witness! Does she happen by coincidence to be employed here in North Carolina by a dozen or so witnesses when she is a lawyer in New York City!

Mr. Van Самр. Same answer on that,

Mr. Arens. Did you know her prior to the time you had your meeting on the weekend?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Van Came. I believe I said I met Miss Laks on Sunday for the first time.

Mr. Arfns. Do von know Don West?

Mr. Van Camp. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the first and fifth.

Mr. Arens. How about Bill Robertson?

Mr. VAN CAMP. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Mary Major Robertson?

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. How about Bill McGirt?

(Witness consulted his counsel.)

Mr. Arens. Do you know him?

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Do you knom Emanuel Coutlakis?

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Viola Brown?

Mr. Van Camp. Same answer.

Mr. Kearney. Counsel, have you asked the witness whether he knows the professor or lecturer at that school, Binkley?

Mr. Arens. Do you know Professor Binkley?

Mr. Van Camp. The same answer on that.

Mr. Arens. Is he the same as Farmer Binkley?

Mr. Van Camp. The same answer.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that this would conclude the interrogation of this witness.

The Charman. The witness is excused from further attendance under the subpena.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. Arens. Mrs. William F. Robertson, or Mary Major Robertson,

kindly come forward.

The Chairman. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. Robertson. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MARY MAJOR ROBERTSON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RHODA LAKS AND JAMES D. GILLILAND

Mr. Arens. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. Robertson. I beg your pardon, sir?

Mr. Arens. Please give us your name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. Robertson. Mary Major Robertson. I live in Asheville, N. C., and I am a housewife.

Mr. Arens. Are you appearing today, Mrs. Robertson, in response to a subpena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. Robertson. I am, sir.

Mr. Arens. Are you represented by counsel?

Mrs. Robertson. I am, sir.

Mr. Arens. Would counsel kindly identify themselves for this record?

Miss Laks. Rhoda Laks, 615 Columbus Avenue, New York City.

Mr. Gilliland, Warrenton, N. C.

Mr. Arens. Mrs. Robertson, please tell us when you first became acquainted with your counsel, Miss Laks?

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question, sir.

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I met her last night.

Mr. Arens. Apparently you are exercising the women's prerogative and changing your mind. You met her when?

Mrs. Robertson. Last night.

Mr. Arens. What occasioned your meeting?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

The CHARMAN. You do not need legal advice to answer that question.

Mrs. Robertson. I was introduced to her by someone.

Mr. Arens. Where was this introduction?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. In the Hotel Charlotte lobby.

Mr. Arens. What time?

Mrs. Robertson. I don't remember, sir. I don't have a watch and I didn't look at the clock.

Mr. Arens. Was it in the evening? Mrs. Robertson. It was after dark.

Mr. Arens. And who did the introducing?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question, sir, under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. How did you happen to be in the lobby of the Hotel Charlotte last evening?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I came to meet Miss Laks.

Mr. Arens. And what occasioned your coming to meet her?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mr. Arens. How did you know Miss Laks was going to be in the lobby?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mr. Kearney. It would save a lot of time if the attorney would testify.

Mrs. Robertson. I needed a lawyer, sir, and that is where we had an appointment.

Mr. Arens. Did you instigate the meeting?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question, sir, again under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Where were you born? I will ask you when but that is probably impolite.

Mrs. Robertson. I was born in 1923, January 18, El Paso, Tex.

Mr. Arens. Give us, if you will, please, a word of your personal background and education.

Mrs. Robertson. I went to a couple of parochial schools up to the fourth grade in El Paso. I moved to Asheville, where my home has been ever since. I attended parochial school, grammar school, and 2 years of high school.

Mr. Arens. When did you complete your formal education in high

school?

Mrs. Robertson. It would be about 1936 or 1937.

Mr. Arens. From what high school did you graduate?

Mrs. Robertson. I didn't graduate, sir. I attended only 2 years.

Mr. Arens. I beg your pardon. Did that complete your formal education?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I don't know whether that includes training programs in the Army or not, sir.

Mr. Arens. Tell us all of the training programs in which you did

participate.

Mrs. Robertson. I attended and graduated from photographic school in the Air Force.

Mr. Arens. How did you happen to be in the Air Force?

Mrs. Robertson. I was not drafted, sir. I enlisted.

 $Mr. \Lambda_{RENS}$. When?

Mrs. Robertson. In 1943, October.

Mr. Arens. At whose instigation did you enlist?

Mrs. Robertson. Myown, sir.

Mr. Arens. How long did you serve?

Mrs. Robertson. Until 1946.

Mr. Arens. Where did you serve?

Mrs. Robertson. In the United States.

Mr. Arens. What was the nature of your service?

Mrs. Robertson. I was a photographer. Mr. Arens. What pictures did you take?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. Anything I was ordered to take pictures of, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you, during the time you were in the Air Force from 1943 to 1946, transmit or cause to be transmitted any information or photographs to a person not authorized by law to receive the same?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I have never committed a disloyal act toward my country, sir, but I will have to answer under the first and fifth amendments to this question.

Mr. Arens. What distinction do you make in your mind between a disloyal act and transmitting information to a person not authorized

by law to receive the same?

(Witness consulted her counsel.) Mrs. Robertson. Same answer, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend, that if you told this committee whether or not while you were in the service of your Government as a photographer, you transmitted photographs or information to a person not authorized by law to receive the same, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. Same answer, sir. Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question.

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. What other training have you had besides the 2 years in high school and the training you had prerequisite to attaining your station as a photographic employee of the Government?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question, sir, under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Did you receive other training?

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse again, sir, the same question.

Mr. Arens. What did you do after completion of your 2 years' education in high school, which I understood ended in 1937?

Mrs. Robertson. I was working, sir.

Mr. Arens. Where?

Mrs. Robertson. I worked for a time as a waitress in a restaurant, for a time as clerk in a dime store. I worked for Western Union as a messenger.

Mr. Arens. Where were these employments? All in this State or,

the same community?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. Well, some in Asheville and some in Washington, D. C.

Mr. Arens. When did you work in Washington, D. C.?

Mrs. Robertson. I worked at a dime store and Western Union in Washington, D. C.

Mr. Arens. When?

Mrs. Robertson. It must have been around 1941 or 1942.

Mr. Arens. Let us go on. We are in 1941 and you are working in Washington, D. C. as a clerk and at the Western Union. What was your next employment and when?

Mrs. Robertson. I worked in a photographic studio as a darkroom

technician.

Mr. Arens. Where?

Mrs. Robertson. Asheville, N. C.

Mr. Arens. When?

Mrs. Robertson. From 1941 or 1942 to 1943 when I enlisted.

Mr. Arens. That then would bring us up to 1946, wouldn't it? You enlisted in 1943 and served to 1946?

Mrs. Robertson. That is right.

Mr. Arens. What did you do after you got out of the service in 1946?

Mrs. Robertson. I went back to my old job in the photo lab.

Mr. Arens. Where?

Mrs. Robertson. In Asheville.

Mr. Arens. How long were you employed there?

Mrs. Robertson. For about 3 or 4 months.

Mr. Arens. Then what happened? (Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. When did you conclude your work at the photograph establishment?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. About August.

Mr. Arens. August of 1946?

Mrs. Robertson. 1946, yes.

Mr. Arens. Did you get another job after August 1946?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. Were you unemployed after 1946 and 1947?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. What was your next employment?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I believe in around 1949 I went to work for the

Morgan Manufacturing Co. in Black Mountain, N. C.

Mr. Arens. Where was the employment in which you were engaged from 1946 until 1949? By where, I mean what geographical location of the United States.

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer this under the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The Chairman. You are directed to answer the question.

Mrs. Robertson. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. How long were you engaged in your employment in 1949 and where was it?

Mrs. Robertson. Morgan Manufacturing Co. For about 8 months.

Mr. Arens. Tell us again where that is located, please?

Mrs. Robertson. Near Black Mountain, N. C.

Mr. Arens. What did you do there?

Mrs. Robertson. I was the assistant designer. It was a furniture actory.

Mr. Arens. What was your next employment?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. Three Mountaineers Industries, I believe was the name. Three Mountaineers, in Biltmore, N. C.

Mr. Arens. When?

Mrs. Robertson. When I quit working at Morgan, that would be 1949, 1950, and overlapping year.

Mr. Arens. How long were you employed there?

Mrs. Robertson. About 6 months.

Mr. Arens. And your next employment?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I was unemployed.

Mr. Arens. For how long were you unemployed?

Mrs. Robertson. For about 18 months.

Mr. Arens. When was your next employment?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)
Mrs. Robertson. Dixie Novelty Co.

Mr. Arens. When? That would get you up to about 1951; would it not?

Mrs. Robertson. Eighteen months of unemployment, about 1952 or 1953.

Mr. Arens. All right. Where was the Dixie Novelty Co.?

Mrs. Robertson. Asheville.

Mr. Arens. What did you do there?

Mrs. Robertson. I counted screws.

Mr. Arens. And your next employment please?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I have not been employed anywhere since then.

Mr. Arens. During the employments which you have recounted to this committee, did you also have another employment?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Were you ever active among the cigarette workers in North Carolina?

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. When did you get married?

Mrs. Robertson. 1949. 1948.

Mr. Arens. Your husband's name, please?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. That was 1948, you understand, sir. Mr. Arens. You married in 1948?

Mrs. Robertson. Yes.

Mr. Arens. And your husband's name? Mrs. Robertson. Billie Fred Robertson.

Mr. Arens. I would like to read you some testimony given under oath before this committee in November 1954.

Mr. Kunzig. Mr. Long, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Long. Yes, sir, absolutely. I joined the party in 1946, the summer of 1946, not long after I joined the university, and I left the party in 1948; the spring of 1948 I went to my last meeting.

Mr. Long. * * * At this Beacon School—it was a school confined solely to the southern Communists by the national committee, from North Carolina, Georgia,

Mr. Kunzig. Can you name some southerners you knew in this camp?

Mr. Long. Clara Hutchinson, of Roanoke, Va.

Mr. Kunzig. Was she at the school where only the Communists were?
Mr. Long. Yes; she told me her husband was an organizer of some Syrian descent and organized around Roanoke. Clarence Goforth, from Norfolk, Va. I never did know how to spell his last name. He was a trade unionist and a member of the party. Mary Major from Asheville, N. C. The last I knew she was in Winston-Salem distributing printed matter among the white workers at the Camel cigarette factory.

Was that Mary Major, concerning whom Ralph Vernon Long gave testimony under oath before the House Un-American Activities Committee, yourself?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee whether or not you are the Mary Major about whom Mr. Long was testifying, you would be giving information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mrs. Robertson. Same answer.

Mr. Arens. Was Mr. Long lying or telling the truth when he identified Mary Major of Asheville, N. C.?

Mrs. Robertson. Same answer.

Mr. Kearney. Is the Beacon, N. Y., school a Communist school?

Mrs. Robertson. Are you asking me, sir?

Mr. Arens. Yes.

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Kearney. Have you been there?

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Kearney. Have you ever been in New York State?

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Kearney. You mean you would be liable to incriminate yourself if you stated whether you had been in New York State?

Mrs. Robertson. Are you asking me, sir?

Mr. Kearney. I certainly am.

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Kearney. That sets me down, because I am from New York State and I am not ashamed of it.

Mr. Arens. Mrs. Robertson, are you presently a member of the Communist conspiracy?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Last Congress there was passed a law which provides, among other things, a means whereby immunity can be granted to a witness from criminal prosecution if that witness' testimony is desired by a congressional committee and certain procedures are then followed. If the House Committee on Un-American Activities should initiate a proceeding whereby you would be granted immunity from criminal prosecution would you then testify and tell the representatives of your Government the answers to any questions we would propound?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Are you presently afraid of criminal prosecution?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Do you have any children?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. Yes.

Mr. Arens. How many children?

Mrs. Robertson. One.

Mr. Arens. The age of the child?

Mrs. Robertson. Seven, almost.

Mr. Arens. Does the child go to school?

Mrs. Robertson. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Would you want that child to grow up in a republic permeated and threatened by an international godless conspiracy?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I am happy that my child is an American, just as I am happy that I am an American. However, I am afraid that I will have to refuse to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. Arens. Would you want to serve your Nation by giving information respecting a conspiracy so that child of yours can grow up in a free society, worship God as he pleases, speak freely, have the rights accorded him under the Constitution?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. My answer to this is the same as the previous.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, that would conclude, if you please, the

interrogation by the staff of this witness.

Mr. Willis. Mr. Chairman, I regret very much that this witness did not take advantage of our offer. We hoped among each other that did not tak advantage of our offer. We hoped that she would. Here is a person before us who says that seh is a fraid of criminal prosecution and we make the offer. If a fear honestly exists, it would remove this fear. Would your testify in executive session and not in public?

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer the question under the first and

fifth amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that answer?

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer the question under the first and fifth amendments.

The Chairman. I direct you to answer that question.

Mrs. Robertson. I refuse to answer under the same grounds.

The Chairman. It is my duty under a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to advise you about this last answer. You are very clearly in contempt of the Congress of the United States. I am advising you of the consequences of contempt. I again direct you to answer the question.

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. If any proceedings were brought against me I would have to make the decision at that time, sir. In the meantime,

I am still under the first and fifth amendments.

The Charman. We are very much interested, and actually this committee is responsible for the immunity statute, in seeing how far people would go if they were not interfered with from outside influences. That is one of the reasons for this immunity statute. I again say to you that if this committee and the Congress, employing the proper procedures, guarantee to you that you will not be prosecuted, since you have indicated as a reason for not answering the questions, a fear of what the consequences might be, would you then answer the questions we might see fit—

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Don't interfere with your client until I complete my question.

Mrs. Robertson. I was speaking to my counsel.

The Charman. If you were granted the proper assurances and protection under the very Constitution we are talking about, would you then answer our questions?

(Witness consulted her counsel.)

Mrs. Robertson. I am not only relying on the fifth amendment, sir, but also the first, which guarantees me freedom of thought and association. Therefore, I refuse to answer the question under the first and fifth amendments.

The Chairman. Is that your own decision, freely arrived at?

Mrs. Robertson. It is, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further?

Mr. Arens. No, thank you, Mr. Chairman. The Chairman. The witness is excused.

The committee will recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 4:10 p. m. Tuesday, March 13, a recess was taken until 10 a. m., Wednesday, March 14, 1956.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NORTH CAROLINA AREA

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 1956

United States House of Representatives,
Subcommittee of the
Committee on Un-American Activities,
Charlotte, N. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met at 10 a.m., pursuant to recess, in the Federal Courthouse, Charlotte, N. C., Hon. Francis E. Walter, (chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Walter, Willis, and

Kearney.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, acting counsel, and W. Jackson Jones, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Call your witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Reavis. Please remain standing and raise your hand to be sworn.

The Chairman. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Reavis. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ODIS REAVIS

Mr. Arens. Please state your full name.

Mr. Reavis. Odis Reavis.

Mr. Arens. And your address?

Mr. Reavis. 3130 South Main Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mr. Arens. And your occupation?

Mr. Reavis. I work at Western Electric.

Mr. Arens. Where?

Mr. Reavis. In Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. What plant is that, Mr. Reavis?

Mr. Reavis. It is the Walltown plant.

Mr. Arens. You are appearing today in response to a subpena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is that correct?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Where and when were you born?

Mr. Reavis. I was born in Lexington, N. C., October 3, 1924. Mr. Arens. Give us a word about your education. Where did you

Mr. Arens. Give us a word about your education. Where did you go to high school?

Mr. REAVIS. At High Point High School.

Mr. Arens. Was it around 1940 that you attended the High Point High School?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. Mr. Arens. Where were you first employed after leaving high

Mr. Reavis. At the Pickett Cotton Mill at High Point.

Mr. Arens. What happened after your employment in the cotton mill at High Point?

Mr. Reavis. I entered the service.

Mr. Arens. What branch of the service did you enter?

Mr. Reavis. Marine Corps.

Mr. Arens. When did you enter the Marine Corps?

Mr. Reavis. In 1942.

Mr. Arens. Where did you serve in the Marines?

Mr. Reavis. In the Pacific theater.

Mr. Arens. When were you discharged.

Mr. Reavis. 1945.

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly tell us your principal employments after being discharged from the Marines?

Mr. Reavis. I went into furniture work.

Mr. Arens. Where was that? Mr. Reavis. In High Point.

Mr. Arens. How long were you engaged in the furniture work?

Mr. Reavis. During 1945—no, during 1946 and 1947. Mr. Arens. And then where did you go?

Mr. Reavis. To Detroit, Mich. Mr. Arens. Was that in 1947?

Mr. Reavis. That is right.

Mr. Arens. Where did you work in Detroit?

Mr. Reavis. Briggs Manufacturing Co.

Mr. Arens. What is that?

Mr. Reavis. It is body production for Chrysler.

Mr. Arens. About how long did you work at Briggs in Detroit?

Mr. Reavis. Six or seven months.

Mr. Arens. Did you work for anyone else in the Detroit area?

Mr. Reavis. At Motor Products.

Mr. Arens. How long did you work there?

Mr. Reavis. About 7 months.

Mr. Arens. Then where did you go?

Mr. Reavis. I came back to High Point, N. C.

Mr. Arens. What year? Mr. Reavis. I left between the two occupations. The last time I came back was in 1949.

Mr. Arens. In 1949 you came on back to High Point, N. C.; is that correct?

Mr. Reavis. That is right.

Mr. Arens. Tell us where you were then employed. Mr. Reavis. I had employment in a couple of places.

Mr. Arens. Your principal employment? Mr. Reavis. A year or so at Piedmont Cigar. Mr. Arens. $\,$ After that where did you work ?

Mr. Reavis. At Western Electric. Mr. Arens. In what capacity?

Mr. Reavis. It is restricted work for the Government.

Mr. Arens. Have you worked there continuously ever since?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Is the work in which you are engaged, and have been engaged for some time, the production of confidential devices used in defense of our Government? Is that correct?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. Arens. Because of security regulations you cannot tell us about it?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Reavis, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Reavis. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party? Mr. Reavis. I have been a member of the Communist Party to seek information for the Government only.

Mr. Arens. Is it a fact that your membership in the Communist Party was in cooperation with an intelligence agency of the Gov-

ernment?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Is it a fact that you were never ideologically identified with the Communist Party?

Mr. Reavis. That is true.

Mr. Arens. Is it a fact that during your membership in the Communist Party you were continuously reporting information to intelligence agencies of your Government at their behest as a patriotic service?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Tell us, please, sir, before we get into further details, the period of time in which you were actually in the Communist Party, although not ideologically identified with the party?

Mr. Reavis. From 1947 until 1953. I signed for 1953, but I didn't attend meetings after 1953. I had contact, but I attended no meetings.

Mr. Arens. Because of the delicate nature and manner in which you did become identified with the Communist Party I will not interrogate you any further on the manner of your admission into the party or the circumstances of your admission, at least in a public session. But I should like to ask you to tell us where you joined the Communist Party.

Mr. Reavis. In Detroit, Mich.

Mr. Arens. And because of the scope of the inquiry of this committee here in North Carolina with respect to Communist activities in the South and in this area, I will not in this session interrogate you respecting Communist Party activities with which you were affiliated or identified in the Detroit area. For that reason, I ask if you were in the Communist Party when you returned to High Point, N. C., which, according to your previous statement, was in 1949.

Mr. Reavis. I was given someone to contact. I was not given a

transfer.

Mr. Arens. Who instructed you to contact a certain person when you returned in North Carolina in 1949?

Mr. Reavis. Lee Marsh of Detroit.

Mr. Arens. Was he a Communist Party functionary?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. So we may have this record absolutely clear, would you spell his name for us?

Mr. Reavis. L-e-e M-a-r-s-h.

Mr. Arens. M-a-r-s-h?

Mr. Reavis. That is right.

Mr. Arens. He was the Communist Party functionary in Detroit who told you when you left Detroit to come to North Carolina in 1949 that you were to contact a certain person, is that correct?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Whom did he tell you you were to contact?

Mr. Reavis. Bernard Friedland.

Mr. Arens. Could you identify him?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Who was he? Mr. Reavis. He was a district organizer for the Communist Party.

Mr. Arens. In the North Carolina area?

Mr. Reavis. In the North Carolina area. I think it was three

Mr. Arens. What States comprised his district?

Mr. Reavis. South Carolina, and I think Tennessee and North

Mr. Arens. Did you contact Bernard Friedland?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. Arens. How did you contact him?

Mr. Reavis. By mail.
Mr. Arens. Tell us what happened.

Mr. Reavis. He came to me to make a personal contact. He came to my home to make a personal contact.

Mr. Arens. Did he identify himself to you as one of the comrades?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; he did.

Mr. Arens. Just tell us in your own words what happened.

Mr. Reavis. Bernard Friedland and Junius Scales came to my home.

Mr. Arens. Let us pause there a moment, please. Identify Scales

Mr. Reavis. He is chairman of the Communist Party of North Carolina.

Mr. Arens. Was he the chairman at that time?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; he was.

Mr. Arens. Tell us what transpired.
Mr. Reavis. They asked me if I would be interested in entering a cell in the State, and was I going to stay in the State, and I told them So they said, "We may have a club for you in a short time." I don't remember word for word what they said.

Mr. Arens. Was that the essence of the conversation?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. Mr. Arens. Then did you subsequently with their cooperation, affiliate with a group which was a Communist Party cell?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Where was that cell?

Mr. Reavis. It was made up of Thomasville and High Point furniture workers.

Mr. Arens. Thomasville and High Point furniture workers? Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. What do you mean by that?

Mr. Reavis. The club was primarily furniture. They asked me what industry I would probably pursue here in North Carolina. I told them that it would probably be furniture. So I was assigned to a furniture club.

Mr. Arens. How long was it after your conversation with Scales and Friedland that you actually became identified with this Communist Party cell in High Point?

Mr. Reavis. I had a caller, Willie Helms, within a week or two after that. He identified himself as a union organizer only.

Mr. Arens. For what union?

Mr. Reavis. United Furniture Workers of America, CIO. I am not sure of the name of the organization at this time.

Mr. Arens. Do you recall the exact name of the furniture workers

local or union with which he said he was identified?

Mr. Reavis. I don't remember the number at this time. It is out

of Thomasville.

Mr. Arens. About how long was it after you had this conversation with Scales and Friedland that you actually became affiliated with the cell?

Mr. Reavis. Approximately a month or two. Mr. Arens. Is that your best recollection?

Mr. Reavis. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly tell us on the basis of your identification in this Communist Party cell at High Point beginning in 1949, the names of other persons who were known by you to a certainty to have been members of that Communist Party cell? Give us the names, please, and a word of identification with respect to each of them.

Mr. Reavis. Charles Coburn.

Mr. Arens. How do you spell Coburn?

Mr. Reavis. You are asking the world's worst speller.
Mr. Arens. Phonetically would you say C-o-b-u-r-n, something along that line?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; that is about it.

Mr. Arens. Before we proceed with another name, tell us what

you know about him.

Mr. Reavis. He was a furniture organizer there in Thomasville, and he worked in South Carolina and North Carolina, also, with the furniture workers organization.

Mr. Arens. Can you just give us a word of description about him? Mr. Reavis. He was rather tall and blond.

Mr. Arens. Give us the name, if you have one, of another person who to your certain knowledge, was a member of this Communist cell.

Mr. Reavis. His wife, Minion Coburn.

Mr. Arens. Minion? Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. I guess that would be spelled M-i-n-i-o-n. Mr. Reavis. That sounds about correct.

Mr. Arens. Could you give us a word of description about her?

Mr. Reavis. She was rather short. I would say five two, dark hair—black, I think.

Mr. Arens. Give us another name, if you please, sir.

Mr. Reavis. Willie Helms.

Mr. Arens. Identify Willie Helms. H-e-l-m-s?

Mr. Reavis. That is right.

Mr. Arens. Is Willie a nickname for William?

Mr. Reavis. I think it must be.

Mr. Arens. You knew him as Willie, though? Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Identify him for us, please, sir.

Mr. Reavis. He was in his forties, I imagine. I think he was partially bald and light hair. I think he had a ridge in it. I am not positive.

Mr. Arens. Where did he work?

Mr. Reavis. He also organized in the Furniture Workers, CIO.

Mr. Arens. Was he a full-time organizer, or did he work in some other occupation and organize on the side?

Mr. Reavis. That was his primary job. He was a full-time

organizer.

Mr. Arens. Do you have another name for us, please, sir?

Mr. Reavis. Harvey Cox.

Mr. Arens. Is that Harvey or Harry?

Mr. Reavis. Harvey. Mr. Arens. C-o-x? Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Could you give us an identification of Harvey Cox?

Mr. Reavis. He was 6 foot, blond—light hair, rather, I wouldn't say blond—ruddy complexion.

Mr. Arens. Where did he work? Mr. Reavis. He worked at Thomas Chair Co., of Thomasville.

Mr. Arens. Did he have any other occupation, such as organizing or anything of that character?

Mr. Reavis. He helped in organizing.

Mr. Arens. For the furniture workers, is that correct!

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. Mr. Arens. Do you have another name for us?

Mr. Reavis. George Johnson. Mr. Arens. J-o-h-n-s-o-n?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. Mr. Arens. Kindly identify him for us, please.

Mr. Reavis. He was a Negro. I would say he may be in his early fifties.

Mr. Arens. Where did he work?

Mr. Reavis. He worked at the chair company there at Thomasville

at the time, and had odd jobs at the bus station.

Mr. Arens. So that this record may be abundantly clear: For the entire period of your experience in the Communist Party about which you are going to testify, you were not ideologically identified with the party, and you were reporting information continuously and consistently to an intelligence agency of your Government? correct?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; I was. Mr. Arens. Is there another person whose name you can give us who was in this Communist Party cell at High Point in 1949, or does that complete the group?

Mr. Reavis. That completes the group.

Mr. Arens. Before we proceed chronologically into the next group, with which you were associated, may I ask you about some of the activities of this High Point group?

Mr. Reavis. They participated in peace work.

Mr. Arens. What do you mean by peace work?

Mr. Reavis. The Stockholm Peace Petition was one.

Mr. Arens. Did they circulate the Stockholm Peace Petition?

Mr. Reavis. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Did you have occasion during the course of your work in the High Point group to penetrate or attempt to penetrate the NAACP in this area?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Tell us about that.

Mr. Reavis. We were asked to attend a meeting in Durham.

Mr. Arens. By whom were you asked?

Mr. Reavis. I cannot be positive. Junius Scales met with us at one club meeting, and the next club meeting Hank Farash-I forgot to mention his name.

Mr. Arens. Identify Hank Farash for us. Mr. Reavis. He was the district organizer.

Mr. Arens. How do you spell Farash?

Mr. Reavis. F-a-r-a-s-h, I think.

Mr. Arens. He and Scales met with you?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. One met one club meeting and one the next.

Mr. Arens. What were their instructions?

Mr. Reavis. To attend this meeting at Durham as Communists, separate and apart from the NAACP, but to aid NAACP activity if we were called upon.

Mr. Arens. Where were the meetings of this Communist Party cell

held in High Point?

Mr. Reavis. We did meet at Willie Helms' and George Coburn's homes. I am not positive, I think we met once or maybe twice at the home of Harvey Cox. Incidentally, his wife seemed to have knowledge of the party activity and agreement with it, but she never met

Mr. Arens. Did you, in the course of your activities in the High Point group, have occasion to meet with Nathaniel Bond. The record will reveal that he has been a witness during this current hearing.

Mr. Reavis. I was asked to meet with him, and I was assisted by

Junius Scales. We went to Nat Bond's room.

Mr. Arens. Where was that? Mr. Reavis. I am not positive.

Mr. Arens. What city? Mr. Reavis. It was Durham, I think.

Mr. Arens. Do you recall what transpired there?

Mr. Reavis. I was in two other organizations at the time. I am not positive. It was connected with the Labor Youth League work. don't know whether it was connected with some other organizations. ${f I}$ don't remember the name of the other organization.

Mr. Arens. What were the two organizations with which you were

connected at that time beside the Communist Party cell?

Mr. Reavis. Labor Youth League.
Mr. Arens. That is an arm of the Communist conspiracy, is it not?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. And Negro trade union organization. I am not positive of that name at this time.

Mr. Arens. What was your assignment or activity in the Labor

Youth League?

Mr. Reavis. I was literature director.

Mr. Arens. That is the successor organization to the Young Communist League, is it not?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir, it is. Mr. Arens. What did you do as literature director of the Labor

Youth League?

Mr. Reavis. I received literature from Junius Scales' wife and sold it, or I could give it away or distribute it any way I saw fit.

Mr. Arens. What was the literature which you received?

Mr. Reavis. I remember one pamphlet was to bring the boys home from Korea. It was on the Korean war and the United States being the aggressor nation.

Mr. Arens. How many members were in the Labor Youth League

when you were a member in 1949?

Mr. Reavis. There were approximately 20 or 25, and then there were members that came to maybe 1 or 2 meetings.

Mr. Arens. Was that 20 or 25 in the LYL in High Point or was

that 20 or 25 scattered throughout the area?

Mr. Reavis. I think 30 would be better for the whole State. They were at Greensboro, High Point, Thomasville and Winston-Salem, and

The CHARMAN. At this point I would like to ask a question con-

cerning the literature. Did any of it come from abroad?

Mr. Reavis. Sir, I don't remember if it did at that time. It seems that we had some literature from China, a paper or something, that you used as educational.

The Chairman. A magazine made up something like our magazine

"Life"?

Mr. Reavis. That sounds familiar. Let me explain this. I was also literature director of our Communist Party club, and I had a hard time keeping the literature separated. There was some difference. I can't remember exactly in referring back to my memory on literature. I can't remember which was which at this time.

The Chairman. But you do remember some were photographs from

abroad?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. The reason why I ask the question, Mr. Arens, is that I think your committee in the Senate ran into a situation concerning similar material where the customs anthorities stated that if there was not an immediate distribution within 2 weeks, the customhouses at New York and San Francisco would be so filled it would be impossible to get anything else in them. I think this committee might well concern itself with finding out who is making the distribution of tons of this propaganda literature.

Mr. Arens. And arriving at 40 ports of entry in the United States

every day by the shipload.

The Chairman. Yes.

Mr. Arens. The customs officials tell us, although I am not testifying, but to add to the fund of knowledge here, that they are absolutely

unable to cope with it. It is spewing all over the Nation.

Mr. Reavis. I do remember one thing on the literature. There was an article showing Dulles entering Korea and they claimed he was instigating the Korean situation.

Mr. Arens. Is the periodical to which you refer the China Today or China Weekly Review?

Mr. Reavis. That sounds familiar. I don't remember too well. Mr. Arens. Who was the head of the LYL in this State in 1949 when you were identified with it?

Mr. Reavis. Junius Scales' wife, Gladys.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us the names of any other principal officers or moving forces in the LYL?

Mr. Reavis. I don't remember exactly the officers. Charles Childs was one of the attendants. It seems like he was elected to one of the

posts. There was Bill McGirt, Jerry Pearson.

Mr. Arens. Could you go back and identify each of these persons as fully as your recollection enables you? You have identified, and he has also been identified clearly in this record, Scales and Scales' wife Gladys. Take it slowly, if you please, sir, and give us the names again of each of these persons in a leadership capacity in the Labor Youth League, and as much information about them as you recall.

Mr. Reavis. I remember Junius' wife to be rather short, I would say

5 foot, dark hair.

Mr. Arens. We have an identification of both of them. Will you proceed with the others, please?

Mr. Reavis. Jerry Pearson. Mr. Arens. Let us hesitate right there, please, and tell us who was Jerry Pearson, and what you know about him.

Mr. Reavis. He was a contact, as well as I know, for activity in

Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. You mean he was a courier between High Point and Winston-Salem; is that right?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; in that area.

Mr. Arens. That is for the Communist Party, of course.

Mr. Reavis. Yes. As far as I know. As I say, he never met with me at a meeting or anything, but I met him to go to a doctor. One time I was examined by a doctor from Duke. He picked me up and carried me to George Van Camp's home.

Mr. Arens. Did he carry messages back and forth between the com-

 ${f rades}\, ?$

Mr. Reavis. He seemed to always have the information back and forth. The city committee, I think it was called, in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. $\,\,$ Do you have another name in the LYL?

Mr. Reavis. Harvey Cox. I think I have described him.

Mr. Arens. He was likewise in your Communist Party cell.

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you have another name?

Mr. Reavis. I think I mentioned Bill McGirt.

Mr. Arens. Yes. We have already had a description of him. He testified here. Perhaps you can give us a description of him in your own phraseology.

Mr. Reavis. He is around in his early thirties. Mr. Arens. Where did he work?

Mr. Reavis. He worked at a fish market in Winston-Salem, not at that time, I don't think. He did union organizing at the time as well as I know. I didn't know him too well.

Mr. Willis. He is a fishmonger with a Ph. D. degree.

Mr. Arens. Do you have another name for us, please?

Mr. Reavis. I have forgotten where I was at on those names.

Mr. Arens. McGirt.

Mr. Reavis. There were people that met with the group in Greensboro but I don't remember their names at this time. I would rather

not try to----

Mr. Arens. Let us move to this other organization. I was under the impression a moment ago you said in addition to your membership in the Communist Party cell at High Point, you were a member of two other organizations, one of which was the Labor Youth League, and the other was a Negro Congress, or something of that character. Can you tell us about that?

Mr. Reavis. They were trying to organize nationwide this organi-

zation for all Negro workers throughout the Nation.

Mr. Arens. Was that Communist controlled? Was that the Tri-

State Negro Trade Union Council?

Mr. Reavis. I remember that. I think that was an organization that Velma Hopkins was head of. It doesn't seem that was nationwide. It might have been.

Mr. Arens. Was it identified to your knowledge as the National

Negro Labor Council?

Mr. Reavis. That is it.

Mr. Arens. That has been cited as a Communist organization. That is the parent organization of several of these subsidiary groups.

Mr. Reavis. Negro leaders in labor unions. That is their prime membership.

Mr. Arens. Tell us what you know about that other organization

with which you were identified, and who was in it.

Mr. Reavis. Again I don't remember whether Nat Bond was in that particular organization. I think he was attached to it. I know at that meeting we met with him. Junius said we won't talk about the other——

Mr. Arens. Scales?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. We won't talk about the other organization at this time, so I think he must have been in both of them. George Johnson and Harvey Cox.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us a word of description about each of

those or have you done so?

Mr. Reavis. Yes. There was an Austin. I don't remember the first name.

Mr. Arens. A man or woman?

Mr. Reavis. A man.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us a word of identification?

Mr. Reavis. He was from Hendersonville, I think. They were contacting him trying to get him more interested.

Mr. Arens. Did you know him as a Communist Party member?

Mr. Reavis. No, sir. He was supposed to have been good on party lines, but I don't think he was a party member. I never knew if he was.

Mr. Arens. Did you know Viola Brown?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir, I knew her.

Mr. Arens. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. Reavis. The LYL, I think, met at her home, and I attended a meeting.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us a word of description about Viola Brown?

Mr. Reavis. She is a Negro lady, I would say in her forties.

know the age range at this time too well.

Mr. Arens. She appeared before this committee yesterday.

believe you were here.

Have you the name of another person active in this Communist group who worked among the Negroes?

Mr. Reavis. Velma Hopkins.

Mr. Arens. Identify her please, sir.

Mr. Reavis. She is a Negro lady.

Mr. Arens. Where is she located? Mr. Reavis. In Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. Where did she work?

Mr. Reavis. I think, I am not sure where she works, she worked with FTA in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. Is that the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of America, which subsequently merged with the DPOWA—Distributive, Processing, and Office Workers of America, CIO!

Mr. Reavis. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Controlled by the Communists?

Mr. Reavis. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Did you know Velma Hopkins as a Communist?

Mr. Reavis. We went to her home to get directions one night. She asked us not to talk too much on the telephone. I think I read a book and her name was mentioned once. I don't know her personally as a Communist. I never met in a club with her.

Mr. Arens. Have you the name of another person known by you in High Point to have been a Communist and active in the agitation on the Negro question among Negroes?

Mr. Reavts. I don't remember. There are other people, but I

don't remember their names too well at this time.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us about any other activity in which this High Point Communist cell was engaged? Did it do any organizing work as a cell?

Mr. Reavis. Of course, they were always trying to recruit members for the party. They did union organizing.

Mr. Arens. For what union?

Mr. Reavis. They did organizing, in the furniture union there in Thomasville.

Mr. Arens. Where were the furniture union employees engaged? In what plants did they work?

Mr. Reavis. Thomas Chair Co., of Thomasville. That is their

main industry there.

Mr. Arens. Was that union controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. Reavis. It was. It was ousted for Communist activity.

Mr. Arens. Subsequently, is that correct?

Mr. Reavis. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us about any other activity in the High

Mr. Reavis. I think that covers it.

Mr. Arens. Tell us, before we leave the Hight Point cell, what security measures the Communist Party took in order that people in one cell, such as the cell you were in, would not know of the identity of people in other cells, either in High Point or in other areas of this State and community?

Mr. Reavis. It was broken down to 4 or 5 members. Five was the

maximum.

Mr. Arens. To a cell? Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Were the members of any cell cognizant of the identity of members in other cells?

Mr. Reavis. No, sir; they were not.

Mr. Arens. Why not?

Mr. Reavis. For security reasons. You did not talk about people in other cells if you knew about them, even to another comrade.

Mr. Kearney. When you say security reasons, I take it you mean

Communist security reasons.

Mr. Reavis. Communist security reasons.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, may I ask a question? say for security reasons your identity was not known in other cells. Am I to understand from that that those persons who were associated with you in a cell felt that they were engaged in something illegal and unlawful, and for that reason it was necessary to resort to some sort of security measures?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; they did.

The Chairman. That is perfectly apparent. Everyone in the United States who has been in this conspiracy knows full well that they are a part of the foreign conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government through force and violence, isn't that true?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Kearney. It shows from the testimony, Mr. Chairman, that this is not the so-called political organization which some witnesses try to make us believe that it is.

The CHAIRMAN. No: I never heard of the Democratic Party, of which I am very proud to be a member, resorting to security meas-

ures. Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. May I ask if you ever knew a person by the name of Charles Childs?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, I did.

Mr. Arens. Did you in the course of your membership in the Communist Party ever learn that Charles Childs likewise was reporting to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. Reavis. No. sir.

Mr. Arens. You and he had no information respecting the true nature of the identification of the other with the intelligence agencies of this Government, is that right?

Mr. Reavis. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. We will probably go into that later again. But I think that helps develop the security system within the Communist Party. Did you report on Childs?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir, I did; and he did on me, too. He called my

name during these hearings.

Mr. Arends. He identified you before this committee as a person who was known by him to have been a member of the Communist Party. You have never testified publicly before, have you?

Mr. Reavis. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. While we are on this security theme, since you disassociated yourself from the Communist Party, have any of its members been around to try to get you to return to the Communist Party?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; they did. Mr. Arens. Have you had contact here recently with a man by the name of Van Camp?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Who is he? Mr. Reavis. He is a neighbor of mine. Mr. Arens. Is that George Van Camp?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. He testified yesterday. What has been his contact with you recently?

Mr. Reavis. Last week he called me and asked me if I could talk

with him.

Mr. Arens. That was last week?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; a week or two. I will say. It may have been 2 weeks. I told him I couldn't. He said could I meet you out some place, and he said Leroy's Barbecue, and talk, and I said, "No, I can't see it." That is my first time to turn my back on him.

Mr. Arens. Let us proceed in the chronology of your activities in the Communist Party. When did you leave that Communist Party

cell?

Mr. Reavis. In 1952.

Mr. Arens. Where did you go? Mr. Reavis. I went to Western Electric in 1951. I contacted the club over there sometime in 1951. I moved there in 1952.

Mr. Arens. By there, do you mean Winston-Salem?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. Mr. Arens. You moved from High Point over to Winston-Salem; is that correct?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. Mr. Arens. In Winston-Salem did you identify yourself with a Communist Party cell?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. Arens. How did you happen to do that? What were the

mechanics for the process?

Mr. Reavis. For my own personal security, Junius Scales advised me not to contact anyone at Winston-Salem when I went to work at ${f Western~Electric}.$

Mr. Arens. What did he mean, for your own personal security?

Mr. Reavis. If I got identified as a Communist, I wouldn't get employment in Western Electric.

Mr. Arens. Did Junius Scales have anything to do with your employment, or the procurement of your employment in Western

Electric?

Mr. Reavis. Other than tell me that they were hiring and I should try to seek employment there. They were interested in getting party members located in Winston-Salem. It was becoming more union organized than High Point and other areas, and it was primarily Negro people with whom they were constantly trying to associate and ally themselves.

Mr. Arens. Did Scales know that this Western Electric plant at Winston-Salem produces confidential material for the United States Government?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; he did.
Mr. Arens. What were the mechanics of your association with the Communist Party cell in Winston-Salem? Did Scales tell you to

contact someone or did someone contact you?

Mr. Reavis. I was supposed to contact him. He had not been meeting with the club. He had disappeared for a year or so. I was supposed to contact him but Harvey Cox relayed his messages to me. I didn't get to see him. He told me that I would meet—I have forgotten exactly how I got acquainted with the club there—but I met with another club.

Mr. Arens. Tell us, please, the name of each person in this Communist Party cell at Winston-Salem, who was known by you to be a member of the Communist conspiracy. Let us have his name and as

much identification as you can give us.

Mr. Reavis. Childs was in that.

Mr. Arens. Childs was in that cell then? Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. Gene Feldman was in it.

Mr. Arens. Feldman has been identified; has he not?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. And he appeared as a witness? Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. You knew him as a comrade; is that correct?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you report that fact to the FBI like Childs did?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Willis. Did you report Childs to the FBI?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Willis. And he reported you to the FBI?

Mr. Reavis. Yes. sir.

Mr. Arens. Who was another person in that cell? The first man you named was Childs. Give us the name of another person known by you to be a comrade in the Winston-Salem cell.

Mr. Reavis. I believe I named Gene Feldman.

Mr. Arens. Yes.

Mr. Reavis. George Van Camp.

Mr. Arens. Is he the man who contacted you a short time ago, after he learned he was to appear before this committee, and wanted to chat with you?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. And you knew him as a comrade?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you have another name?

Mr. Reavis. I think that is it.
Mr. Arens. Did you know a man by the name of Warren Williams?

Mr. Reavis. He contacted me in 1953 at George Van Camp's to sign me over in membership for 1953. They sign up in October, November. or something. But I had not been meeting with them. I met with him in January, I guess.

Mr. Arens. He was not in the cell when you were in it, but he subsequently identified himself to you as a Communist; is that right?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. I met him before at Durham.

Mr. Arens. You mean as a comrade—as a Communist?

Mr. Reavis. No, sir; not as a Communist. I met him. I knew he did party activity.

Mr. Arens. You didn't know whether or not he was in the party

grip; is that correct?

Mr. Reavis. That is true.

Mr. Arens. Did you ever learn that Warren Williams was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Reavis. He signed me up for another year's membership in

1953.

Mr. Arens. Did you on the basis of your experience in the Communist Party and your awareness of party techniques conclude in your own mind that Warren Williams was a comrade?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you now identify him as a person known by you to have been a comrade?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir. I met him at Ross', in Durham, who was ousted from the university. He didn't get his diploma. He finished law school at the University of North Carolina, and they could not give it to him because of this Communist Party affiliations.

Mr. Arens. Have you the name of another person in the Winston-

Salem cell. This is in 1952; is it not?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. All right, \sin ; go ahead, please.

Mr. Reavis. That is all.

Mr. Arens. How about Jerry Pearson?

Mr. Reavis. He did contact work. I know once Junius Scales met with us and he brought them to the meeting place, but he did not meet with us.

Mr. Arens. When did you disassociate yourself from the Communist Party?

Mr. Reavis. I stopped meeting sometime in the latter part of 1952. I signed up again in 1953, and that was the last meeting I attended.

Mr. Arens. When in 1953?

Mr. Reavis. January of 1953. I have been contacted by George Van Camp since then. I get a Christmas card from some of the comrades.

Mr. Arens. They did not know until today, but what you might still be, at least ideologically, identified with them; did they?

Mr. Reavis. No; they didn't.

Mr. Arens. Before we get to the point of your breaking from the Communist Party, tell us, did you ever attend the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. Arens. What is that school?

Mr. Reavis. It is a Communist school to recruit and educate leadership in the Communist Party.

Mr. Arens. Where is it located? Mr. Reavis. New York City.

Mr. Arens. How did you happen to attend it?

Mr. Reavis. Junius Scales and Hank Farash came to my home and asked me if I would be interested in going to the school.

Mr. Arens. When?

Mr. Reavis. I made a mistake there. I believe Friedland was still district organizer. Hank Farash relieved Bernard Friedland. I am not positive which one of the two came this time. One of them came with Junius Scales to get me to go to this school.

Mr. Arens. What year was that, do you recall?
Mr. Reavis. It was just before entering the furniture club, I think, in High Point.

Mr. Arens. That would be in 1949, or thereabouts.

Mr. Reavis. It is some time in 1949, I think.

Mr. Arens. Did the Communist Party pay your way to go to New York City?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir, they did.

Mr. Arens. How long were you there?

Mr. Reavis. Three weeks.

Mr. Arens. What courses did they teach in the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. Reavis. Marxism and Leninism. They schooled you on organizing in your local groups and localities.

Mr. Arens. Did you know Professor Boudin up there?

Mr. Reavis. No, sir, I didn't.

Mr. Arens. Who were some of the instructors at the Jefferson

School who tutored you?

Mr. Reavis. Hy Gordon. It seems I met Elizabeth Gurley Flynn There was a Miller. This lady who was deported, Claudia That is all of the names I remember. I met 1 of the 10, Benjamin Davis.

Mr. Arens. Who used to be on the city council in New York?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Was he an instructor?

Mr. Reavis. He was one of the Communists. I get Benjamin Davis and another one of the main 10 Communist leaders mixed up. I could be mistaken. There was one of the 10 on trial at Foley Square at the time who was introduced to us.

Mr. Arens. While the trial was in session? Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. He came around to the Jefferson School?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. What courses did they teach there besides Marxism and how to organize?

Mr. Reavis. They don't stick to one subject.
Mr. Arens. Was there any doubt in the minds of your instructors and the top leadership, but that as surely as the sun rises tomorrow, they will take over this Government by force and violence?

Mr. Reavis. They follow those lines, yes, sir. Their intentions are to have leadership, and through any way or means or anything possible to them to overthrow or to infiltrate and take over the Government of all countries throughout the world.

Mr. Kearney. In other words, it would let nothing stand in its way,

is that right?

Mr. Reavis. It is an international organization of the party. There

are no bones about it being a foreign organization.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Reavis, you have been in the Communist Party, you have been an observer in the party. We know you are a good loyal American. Tell this committee and the people of this community whether or not in your judgment the Communist conspiracy today poses a serious threat to the internal security of this Nation.

Mr. Reavis. Not only to this Nation, but I feel throughout the

world.

Mr. Arens. Is it, as I noticed in the paper here the other day, that some one said, just a political belief?

Mr. Reavis. They try to make it appear that, but it is not.

Mr. Arens. That is what the dupes follow when they say it, is that correct? Is it a matter of political belief that we are probing here?

Mr. Reavis. That is the line they use when you first enter the party.

That is your excuse.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to amend that. Not only the dupes, but those who are serving the conspiracy attempt to create that impression.

Mr. Arens. Give us your appraisal now on the basis of your observations as to how serious this situation is. Are we just down here on something that is witch hunting or is it really something serious, in

your judgment?

Mr. Reavis. It is serious. They strive to accomplish world power through any means. They would rather take it over like they did in the eastern democracies or in China. But in my mind they would not hesitate to use force. They would rather take it over politically and keep all the citizens of the Nation friendly toward them and use the ones that they can use. But if they can't be used, they would be disposed of.

Mr. Arens. How dedicated are the comrades to the objective of the

international Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Reavis. They would rather take 5, 10, 20 years, it doesn't matter, to accomplish their goal rather than to fail in trying to take it in 1 or 2 years.

Mr. Arens. Is the individual Communist just a part-time man, or

is he at heart dedicated to the conspiracy?

Mr. Reavis. He is dedicated.

Mr. Arens. Is he dedicated heart and soul?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir, there is nothing else that stands in the way.

Mr. Arens. Do you have any personal illustration with reference to yourself? May I suggest when you decided to get married, did you have to discuss that with the comrades?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Tell us about that.

Mr. Reavis. I hesitated to mention it to them, because they think of anyone who doesn't believe in their way, if they can, as a higher class. My wife teaches school. They would rather comrades marry other comrades, or someone that they could possibly recruit or see a chance of recruiting. They didn't think that it was possible that I would be able to recruit my wife. I told them that I would not attempt to before we were married. They advised me that I should not get married.

Mr. Arens. Have you finished your answer?

Mr. Reavis. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Was that part and parcel of the reason why you felt that you had done your stint for your Government and would like to be relieved of further obligations within the party operation? Mr. Reavis. Meeting with them became unbearable after I got married.

(Representative Willis left the hearing room.)

Mr. Reavis. That seemed to be the main topic in our club. I would not meet for a week or two and go back and it was the same topic. That and the fact that I worked at a place which was restricted. On one occasion I was carried to the comrade's home. I think he was trying to lead up to my work and everything, and I would not disclose any of my activities in the plant to him.

Mr. Arens. Was he trying to get a little information out of you? Mr. Reavis. Felt me out, more or less. It was Karl Korstad of

Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. I didn't get that name.

Mr. Reavis. Karl Korstad. Mr. Arens. K-o-r-s-t-a-d?

Mr. Reavis. Yes. Mr. Arens. Karl? Mr. Reavis. Yes.

Mr. Reavis. Yes. Mr. Arens. K-a-r-l? Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Was he a comrade?

Mr. Reavis. I didn't know him as such. I was not introduced to him as a comrade. Harvey Cox carried me to his home and told me I should meet him. That was about the time I was going to work at Western Electric, and before I got assigned to a club in Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. May I ask you now about some of the individuals who have been identified by Mr. Childs and others as members of other cells within the State to see if you are in a position to confirm and corroborate their testimony?

Did you know Ralph C. Clontz, Jr., as a comrade?

Mr. Reavis. I know Clontz. I can't remember the relationship at this time.

Mr. Arens. He has broken with the Communist Party. He has testified. He was never ideologically identified with the Communist Party and was in it substantially the same as you and Childs.

Mr. Reavis. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Joseph Franklin Blake, Jr.?

Mr. Reavis. No, I don't know him.

Mr. Arens. Was he in some other cell?

Mr. Reavis. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Although you were in Communist Party at the same time he was, you had no means, manner or opportunity to know his identity, is that correct?

Mr. Reavis. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. You have told us about Nat Bond. Did you know Nat Bond as a Communist?

Mr. Reavis. I will say it this way. Mrs. Gladys Scales told me at one time in LYL work in North Carolina we were not accomplishing our goals. We were trying to get people interested in any idea we could go along with in the LYL. She said we only had a half dozen people in that organization who were not connected with the Communist Party or were not party members. At a later date at another club, she said there was only one, and he was a Negro boy at Winston-Salem.

Mr. Arens. Could you tell us in passing the techniques which are used by the Communists whereby just 2 or 3 Communists in a mass organization of several thousand can control the policy of that organization?

Mr. Reavis. I didn't understand the question.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us the technique used by the Communists whereby a few Communists, 2 or 3, in an organization, can get to the nerve center of that organization and control its policy? Were you taught that technique in the Jefferson School?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. What is the essence of that technique?

Mr. Reavis. They try to get into the leadership of an organization. They try to ally themselves with other organizations and people that will aid them in their work.

Mr. Arens. Non-Communists, perhaps even anti-Communists?

Mr. Reavis. Anything. Any weapon they can use to advance their means, that is their purpose.

Mr. Arens. To what extent are the comrades adherents to the truth? Mr. Reavis. You always tell the truth to the Communist Party, but anyone else it is your own judgment.

 ${f Mr.\,Arens.}\,$ To what extent are the comrades adherents to morality ?

Mr. Reavis. I will give you an example. In Detroit they asked, "Would you deny that you were a party member? Say you were asked by the FBI or an agent of the Government or a police officer or anybody?"

Mr. Arens. How about a congressional committee?

Mr. Reavis. You would hide behind the fifth amendment.

The Chairman. We had a very good example vesterday of that when these lawyers were advising their clients, and didn't realize that what they were saying was coming over the microphone. I heard this charming lady say something very uncomplimentary about me but she didn't realize it. Of course, it didn't disturb me. I am complimented by that sort of thing.

Mr. Arens. Proceed, Mr. Reavis.

Mr. Reavis. The example I started to give was what if one was asked the question, would we deny Communist Party membership. They said, would you deny your mother if she was in trouble? would deny in the respect that you would not brag about it, but you would not deny if you were called upon to aid.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arens, I think this would be a good place to

take a break.

(Members present at the time of the recess were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearney.)

(Short recess.)

(Members present following the recess were Representatives Walter, Willis, and Kearnev.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Reavis, kindly tell us in your own words the circumstances which occasioned your disassociation from the Communist By disassociation, I mean from your active participation.

Mr. Reavis. My name seemed to be the topic of this club that I was meeting with there at Winston-Salem each and every time we met. I would stay away a week or two and miss a meeting or so. go back and I was the topic hashed at the club again, and the fact that I got married and was not too active in their activities. They pretended to understand the fact that I wasn't too active because of my work. It just became unbearable to meet with them. I didn't feel that I was doing a good job in meeting with them because I was not getting any place. It was the same thing over and over.

Mr. Arens. You had reported to the FBI all significant informa-

tion to which you had access, is that correct?

Mr. Reavis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I would respectfully suggest this would conclude the general staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Willis, do you have any questions?

Mr. Willis. No, Mr. Chairman. I do wish to commend him for the work that he has done for our country.

The Chairman. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. Kearney. I have a few questions, Mr. Reavis. I am curious to know the reaction of your fellow employees when your name came

out in the paper as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Reavis. I walked in. I was nervous, because I knew that some of them had probably read the paper and my name was mentioned. One of the guys—I was sitting with two other guys and they were talking—and one guy said, "Didn't I see your name in the paper?" and I said, "I am not sure." He said, "Don't kid me. You are from High Point and you lived in Detroit." He says, "You are a Communist." One of them said, "They ought to shoot all the Communists." I said, "Yes, I agree with you." He said, "They ought to shoot you, too." So I thought I better find my boss man.

Mr. Kearney. Before you came here this morning, were you some-

what fearsome concerning your testimony?

Mr. Reavis. I was. I know that they do make slanderous remarks. They don't ever give up the idea of belittling you if you appear against them. Once you are in there, they consider you always a Communist, good or bad. If you are bad, you are supposed to be disposed of in their way of thinking. But a true Communist is a Communist from the time he joins until his death.

Mr. Kearney. You were not fearful of physical harm; were you? Mr. Reavis. No, sir; I don't think so. I don't think there is any-

thing that will come of that.

Mr. Kearney. I do not think you should be because you have certainly rendered a wonderful service, not only to the people of North Carolina, but to our country at large, and it is refreshing to hear the testimony that you gave, and that of Mr. Childs and Mr. Clontz, in rebuttal to what I call these fifth amendment Americans who have testified here. You deserve not only the thanks of this committee, but

of our country at large.

The Chairman. I would like to add to what General Kearney said with respect to your fear. I suppose that I am not revealing any confidence improperly when I say that the Federal Bureau of Investigation does not permit any person who has aided it in its work to protect this Government to be harmed. If any of these people who are in this Communist conspiracy should in any way attempt to interfere with you in your legitimate activities, I am sure that they will regret it.

I would also like to thank the people of this community for the cooperation given our committee. I want to thank the marshal and the officials in charge of this building for their courteous treatment. I want to say that contrary to some of the articles I have read in the newspapers, I think these hearings have been a great success, because after all, while we have not forced anyone to tell what we hoped some of them would tell, nevertheless, charges that have been made have gone unanswered. The statements you have made, and those of the other two patriotic Americans who were in the service of this country, are charges of activities bordering on treason. Those charges were not answered. When given the opportunity to answer those charges, these individuals saw fit to hide behind the very Constitution that they would destroy.

I am not disturbed because the Communist Party saw fit to protect itself by sending someone here from outside of this community. That

is a common occurrence.

However, the thing that does disturb me is the inability of the Congress to adequately deal with situations of this sort. I know that there are lawyers who would like to be thrown out of hearings so that they can be martyrs and charge this committee with all sorts of un-American things. But we just do not fall for that. If only one thing of importance came from these hearings it seems to me that it is the testimony you gave showing that the Communist Party is not interested in numbers, but in leadership. I am sorry that Jackie Robinson's testimony could not have been given in the South instead of in Washington. I am sure that what he said before this committee 4 or 5 years ago, if listened to by the colored people of the South, would act as a deterrent when these agents of the Soviet attempt to organize them and to spread the seeds of dissension.

I do not know of anything more that I can say except this: The 20,000 hard-core politicians in the Communist movement in the United States are well known. I am sure it came as a great shock during these hearings to the leaders of the Communist conspiracy—here for the purpose of deceiving the people—to find that their meetings were being attended by not only 1, 2, but by 3 employees of

the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I thank you again, and the hearing is now adjourned.

(Present at the time of adjournment were Representatives Walter,

Willis and Kearney.)

(Thereupon at 12:25 p. m., Wednesday, March 14, 1956, the hearings were adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)

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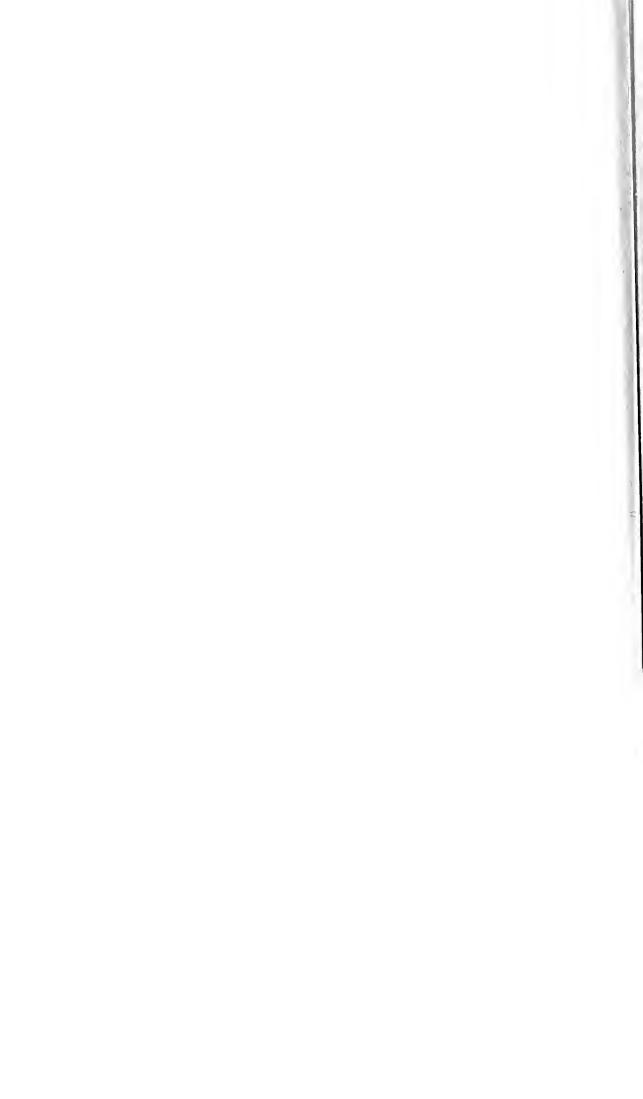
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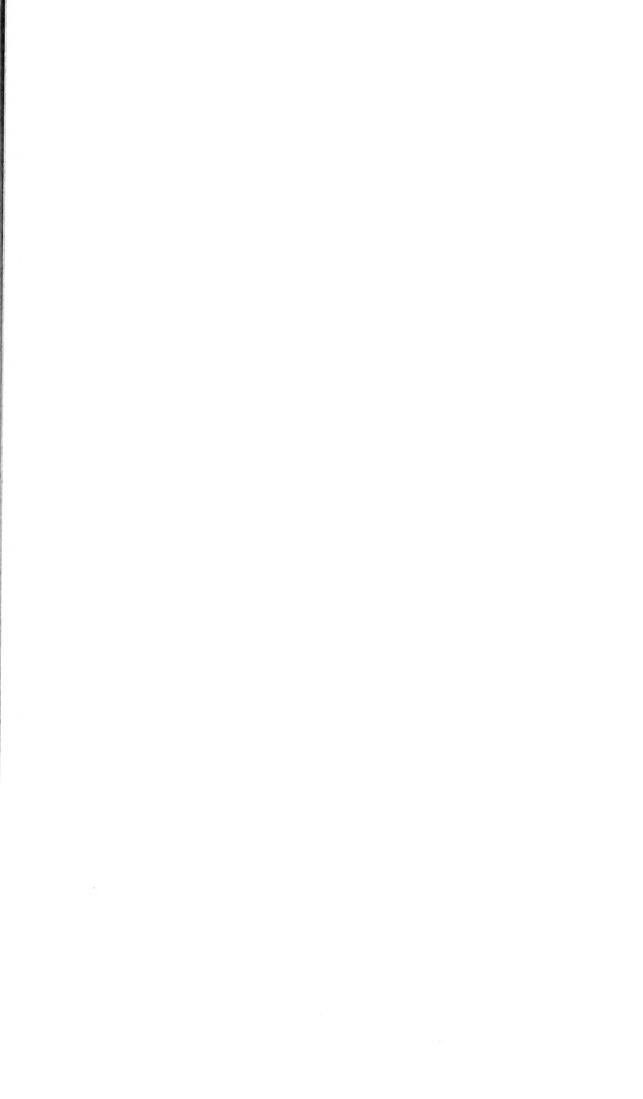












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